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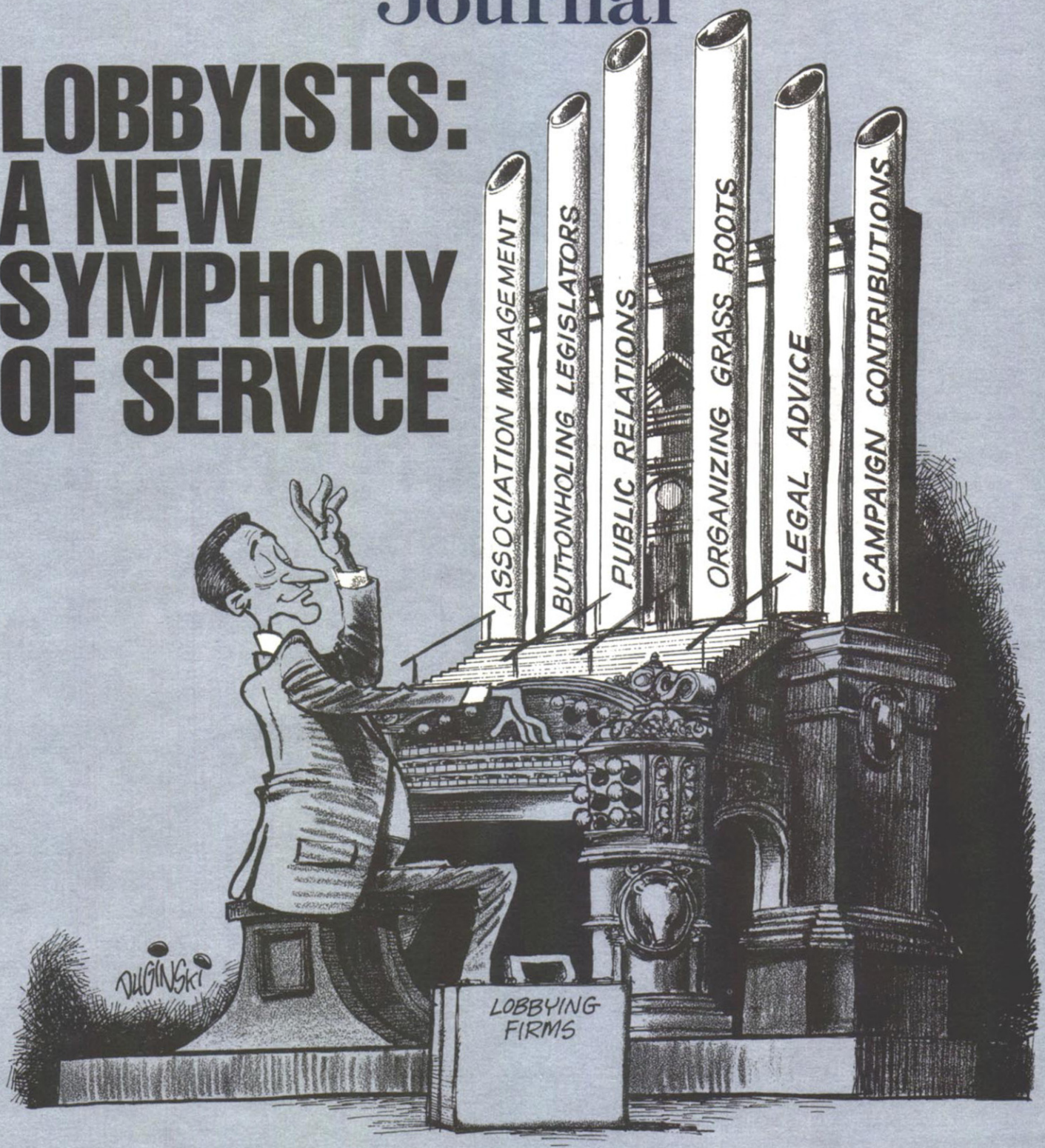

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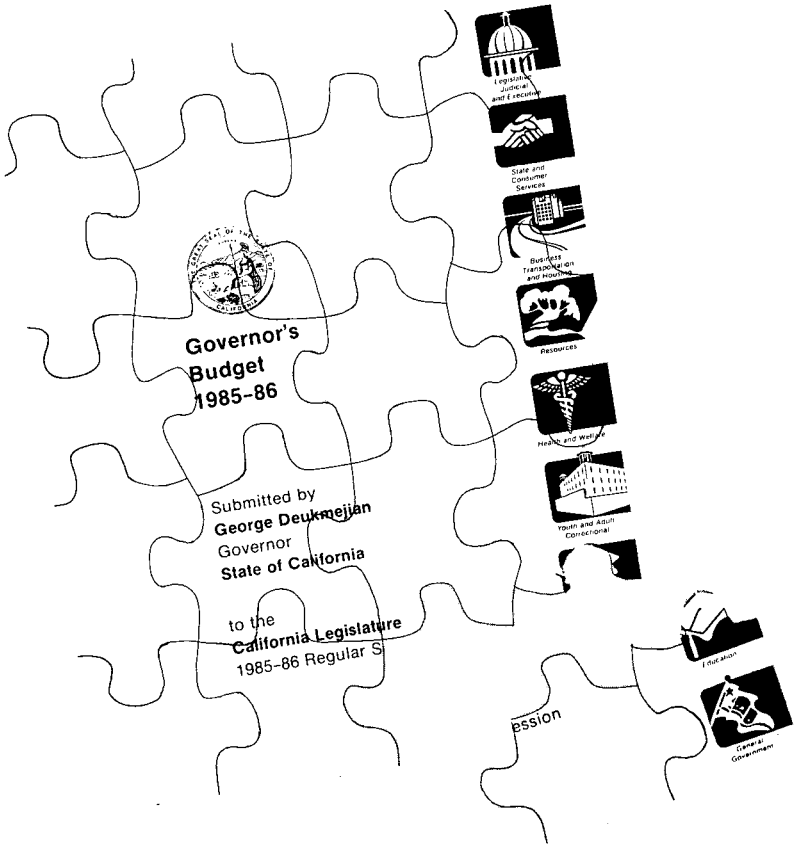

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CALIFORNIA Journal

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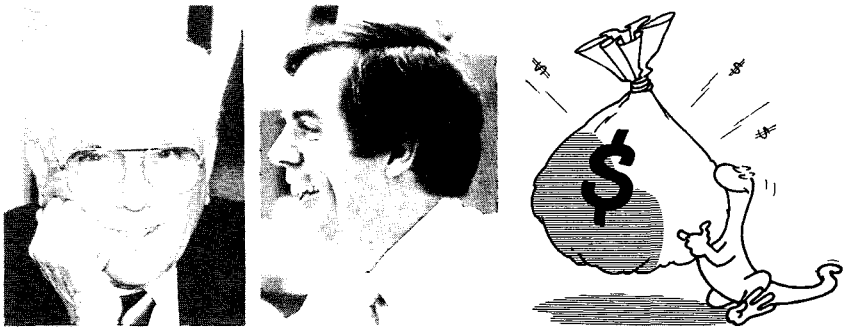

The 1985 Roster and Government Guide

This issue includes a copy of California Journal's *most popular publication: the annual* Roster and Government Guide. *Completely updated to include all new administration appointments and legislative committee assignments, this directory is also available as a reprint.*

New look in lobbying *by John Jervis and Robert Fairbanks* **44**

Able to do more than twist lawmakers' arms, lobbying firms offer a selection of methods for changing the law.

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When it comes to spending an extra dollar, taxpayers would rather give money to salamanders than to political parties.

The teflon senator *by Peter Aleshire* **80**

Once dubbed the "polyester poet," Dan Boatwright has survived many a controversy yet continues to wield power.

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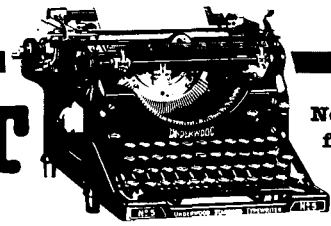
UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

LA County District Attorney Ira Reiner could be the key man in ending an imbroglio created when LA City Councilman Art Snyder said he would resign come July 1st. Snyder, one of the most controversial but durable politicians in the state, has been accused — during an angry child-custody battle with his ex-wife — of molesting his nine-year-old daughter. The 52-year-old councilman denies the charge, and it is up to Reiner to decide whether a prosecution should proceed. In the middle of his fifth term as the anomalous Anglo-conservative representative of LA's mostly Hispanic eastside, Snyder has endured heavy flak

SNYDER ALATORRE

before, including a $14,000 state Fair Political Practices Commission fine. And last August he easily survived a recall election in which his ouster was loudly sought by Reiner and Assemblyman Richard Alatorre, whose district overlaps Snyder's council seat. Now that Snyder says he'll resign, Alatorre wants Snyder's job for himself. Moreover, Alatorre wants the city council to appoint him to fill it. More likely, the council will opt for a special election instead. Snyder's promise to resign — but not until July — could be designed to give his understudy-allies time to prepare a campaign to succeed him. Without the breather, Snyder's ancient eastside foes, whose loins have long been girded, would have the edge in a succession war. Some observers wonder, too, if delay doesn't give Snyder himself a breather during which to find an escape hatch from his current troubles. But whether Snyder is to be a survivor or kingmaker — or neither — may depend on Reiner, whose prosecutorial record has often been criticized as overly political.

(John Schwada, Los Angeles)

The man who tries to keep Senator Pete Wilson's name in lights is returning to California. Otto Bos, Wilson's friendly and accessible press secretary, is expected to leave Washington later in 1985 for San Diego. Bos explains that he and Wilson had agreed that he would return home after a two-year stint in the nation's capital. He also says he is returning partly "to put things in a re-elect mode." Wilson, of course, isn't up for re-election until 1988. But anyone who uses "mode" in a sentence should leave Washington as fast as possible.

(James R. Carroll, Washington)

Bobbie Metzger, former flack to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, says that she always wanted to go in to business for herself and at age 36 it was time to fish or cut bait. So, she is now a partner in Stoorza, Ziegaus and Metzger — a public-relations and governmental-affairs firm based in Sacramento. Metzger also is an ex-trooper from that large brigade of former press secretaries to Governor Jerry Brown.

Californians Against Waste has employed lobbyist Joe Beeman to push this year's version of a bottle bill. The big obstacle is still the AFL-CIO, which contends that a refund on beverage containers will cost jobs in the can-and-bottle-making business. One difference is that this year's bill will have a formal endorsement from Senate President pro Tem Dave Roberti.

Editor Bill Wood of *Prosecutor's Brief*, the quarterly magazine put out by the California District Attorneys Association, has written a novel that's due to appear in April. Set in a mythical city much like Sacramento, it is titled *"Rampage,"* and deals with a series of gory killings and the use of the insanity defense. The real killing will come if some wealthy producer decides to buy the movie rights.

This probably comes under the heading of "Hail to the Chief" — the Sacramento police chief, that is — for hiring meter maids who dispense parking tickets without fear or favor. When the president's daughter, Maureen Reagan, paid a lengthy visit to her husband — PR-man Dennis Revell — at his office in the Senator Hotel building across from the Capitol, Secret Service officers escorting her waited in the lounge on the ground floor while their two autos waited in a "permit only" loading zone at the curb. Alerted by a building tenant of the meter maid's approach, agents rushed forth to plead their case. But the maid, unimpressed, issued two tickets nonetheless. Incidentally, the Revells uniquely combined PR and charity at Christmastime just past. In greeting cards to 40 members of the Capitol press corps, they notified each reporter that they had made a donation to Ethiopian famine relief in his or her name. Revell says the donations — $10 each — went to Catholic Relief Services.

(Bud Lembke, Sacramento)

There's still some talk around the Capitol concerning Rod Blonien's move from governor's lobbyist to governor's overseer of prison construction. The question is whether Blonien wanted more leeway in his negotiations with legislators than Deukmejian would give. Supposedly, Deukmejian once backed away from a Blonien-made compromise on an issue, telling legislative leaders that Blonien didn't speak for him. If true, that would indicate long-standing problems between the two men. Gubernatorial Press Secretary Larry Thomas and Chief of Staff Steve Merksamer say they can't recall the governor ever saying such a thing. However, a legislative staff aide who was at a school-finance meeting in 1983 between Deukmejian, Speaker Willie Brown and Senate leader Dave Roberti says Deukmejian said it.

As for windy metaphors, we like this one occasioned by the retirement of Lois Lundberg as chair of the Orange County Republican Central Committee. First vice chair Tom Fuentes told a gathering: "The California ship of state has an anchor to the right in Orange County that withstands the winds from the left that blow at gale force from West Los Angeles and San Francisco. That anchor is held by the rock-solid strength of a party led by a great lady whom we honor this evening."

Lu Haas, having served briefly as media director for the No-on-37 (lottery) campaign, is back in retirement again. Press aide and idea man to top Democrats for more than 20 years, Haas, 67, says he's playing tennis four days a week and watching wildflowers.

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Baseball players aren't the only ones who track the putouts made by left-handed third basemen and other such obscure records of their profession. John Murcko, an Oakland attorney, recently announced that in December he became the only California lawyer to argue before the U.S. Supreme Court in two consecutive years. The State Bar couldn't confirm or deny his claim. It doesn't, it says, pay attention to obscure records.

We don't know whether other school districts in the state are doing it, but it seems to be a wonderful morale booster in San Diego: personalized business cards for classroom teachers. According to *Thrust*, a magazine for school administrators, teachers in the Sweetwater district were so pleased that they burst into spontaneous applause at a meeting when their cards were handed to them.

Don't feel sorry for Jerry Patterson, the only California congressman defeated last November. According to *The Washington Post*, he'll make $100,000 to $200,000 this year as a partner in the Washington offices of Leff and Mason, a California law firm. According to *The Post*, his clients will include financial institutions that are interested in matters before the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee where Patterson once served and upon which, undoubtedly, he still has friends. Meanwhile, Republican Robert Dornan, who beat Patterson, will be getting the regular congressional salary of $75,100 a year.

Last March, when Governor Deukmejian vetoed AB1, the gay rights bill, he said he had no evidence of widespread job discrimination against homosexuals and lesbians. As a result, about a half dozen gay rights advocates, including Stan Hadden of Senate leader Dave Roberti's staff, sent questionnaires to gays and lesbians asking for examples. About 100 responses came in, including one from a hospital worker who says he was fired because of the veto. "Since the governor vetoed the bill protecting you faggots, you're fired," the employer allegedly said. Results of the survey went to the governor, but he was not impressed. In a letter to AB1 author Art Agnos, the governor noted that anyone can make a charge. Agnos has reintroduced the bill this year, but its chances don't look good. It squeaked through with a bare majority, 41 votes, last time, but two of those votes — former Assemblymen Bruce Young and Terry Goggin — are gone, and the word is that their replacements are "no" votes.

Assemblyman Tom Bates has become a born-again believer in seat belts. While returning to his Oakland home from Sacramento recently, he was nearly sideswiped by a car that careened across four lanes of Interstate 80, smashed into a guard rail and flipped over. Unable to stop because of traffic, Bates drove to the nearest exit and alerted the Highway Patrol and an ambulance. Returning to the wreck scene, he expected to find the careening driver dead or maimed. Instead, the driver was walking around beside his car. Bates says the man had fallen asleep at the wheel but was wearing a you-know-what.

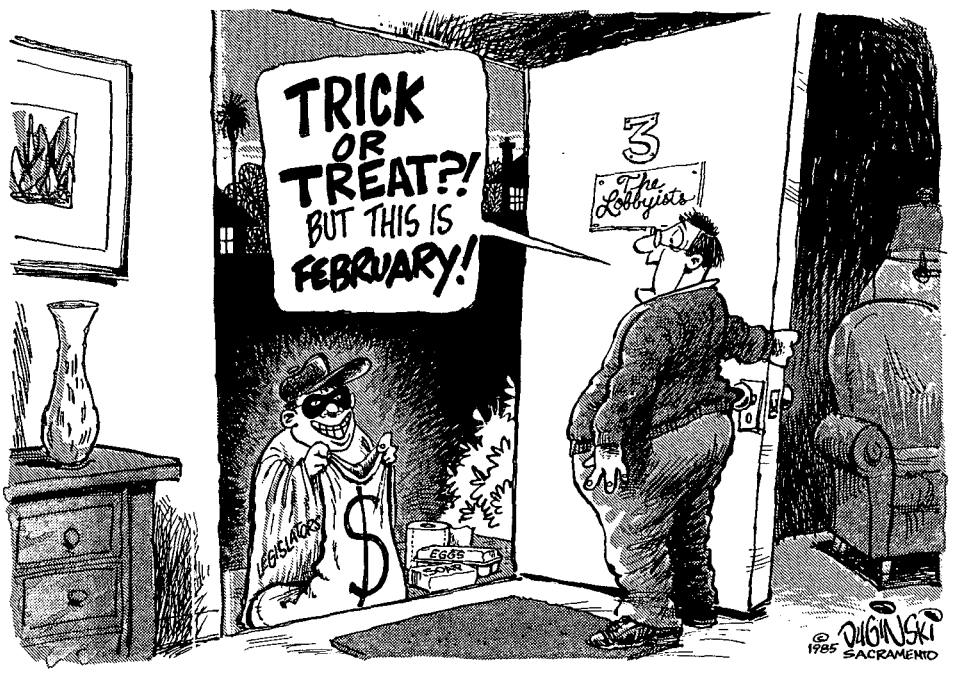
(Thomas Walton, Berkeley)

After the Orange County political consulting firm of Nelson-Padberg lost two campaigns last June — one to boost sales taxes for Orange County transportation and another to elect Ken Carpenter to the state Senate — the *Orange County Register* said the firm looked as though it were "coming apart at the seams." 'Tain't so, says partner Eileen Padberg. Political consulting is roller-coaster work. In Arizona last November, Nelson-Padberg won a big one, defeating a hospital cost-containment package that was backed by the governor.

U.S. Senator Pete Wilson's office says his use of office funds to buy the *Bedside Book of Celebrity Gossip* and a few other volumes of non-governmental reading was a bookkeeping mistake. Press secretary Otto Bos says the books were among $18 worth of reading material ordered by Gayle Wilson, the senator's wife, and mistakenly charged to the office account.

(Martin Salditch, Washington)

Fresno Mayor Dan Whitehurst, who ran against Jerry Brown for a U.S. Senate nomination in 1982, announced last month that he's off to Harvard for a fellowship that involves teaching a course in California politics. As we noted last month, the youthful mayor was planning to leave office at the end of his current term.



Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814.*

Politics is perhaps the only profession for which no preparation is thought necessary.
ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

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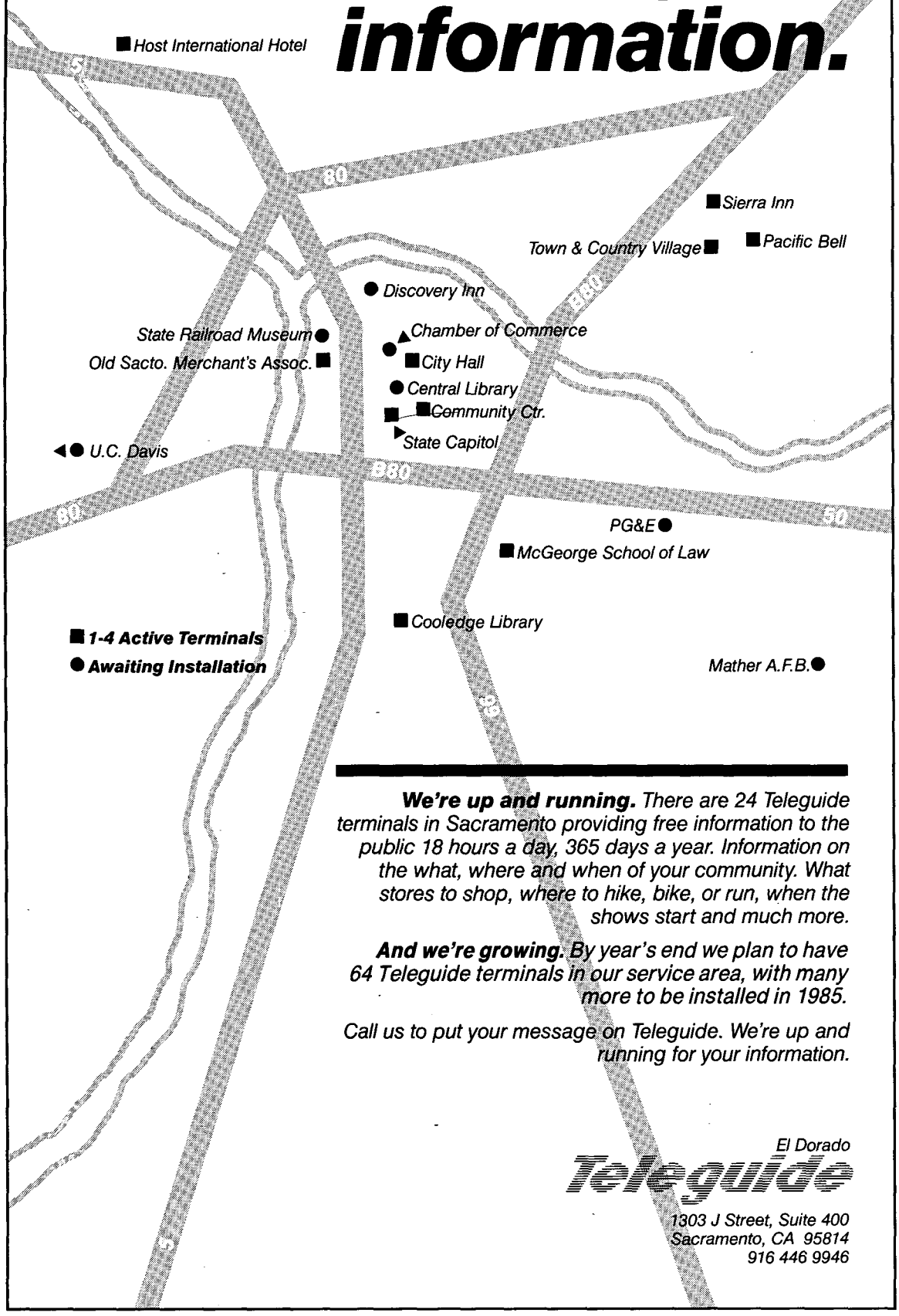

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Capitol review

Governor George Deukmejian's state-of-the-state speech January 8th was almost as newsworthy for what he didn't talk about as for what he did. While taking credit (justifiably) for erasing the deficit, aiding the schools and other such achievements, he said not a word about an issue that's generating fear and anger as it threatens to deliver an economic disaster upon the state.

The great unmentionable is Kesterson — the name of a wildlife refuge in western Merced County. It is notorious now as the place that receives runoff water from a small part of the vast irrigated farmland on the western side of the San Joaquin Valley. Thanks to a state-federal water-delivery system that was built through the 1960s, the farmland, a former desert, is producing cotton and other crops worth hundreds of millions, if not billions, of dollars to the state's economy each year.

The well-publicized problem is that runoff waters from the farmland are poisonous. In addition to the usual agricultural pesticides, they contain selenium and other toxins leached from the wet valley soil. The result is Kesterson's deformed ducklings: pitiful creatures born with twisted backs, no wings or brains protruding from their skulls. The normal rate for deformity among duckling embryos is one percent. At Kesterson, it's 20 percent.

And as the birds are being born, Kesterson's toxic waters are seeping into the ground below. A staff report to the state Water Resources Control Board last November said that one underground aquifer already has been "degraded" and that another, which provides drinking water for many persons in Merced County, may be threatened.

But, as mentioned, Kesterson receives only part of the total farm land runoff. Another part of it drains into the San Joaquin River, which flows north into the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta and empties itself not far from the huge state pumps that suck up water for shipment via the California Aqueduct to Los Angeles and other parts of the south.

According to a report in the *Sacramento Bee*, officials at the State Department of Water Resources have been finding selenium in the southbound flow. Test readings often show amounts exceeding federal contaminant levels. However, the officials note that past readings may have been imprecise at the micro-measurement levels involved and that a new detector was recently installed.

Discouragingly, none of this should be any great surprise. The landowners, politicians and bureaucrats who built the water-delivery system — with voter approval — were warned in various reports that the runoff would be dangerous. At the time, the solution was to build a huge drain that would carry the stuff north for eventual dumping in the delta. But the drain would have been expensive, and in the rush for profit it was started but left undone.

What's the solution? In a letter to Deukmejian last November, then-Interior Secretary William Clark laid out three alternatives: complete the drain, build an in-valley facility to decontaminate the water or take the selenium-laced farmland out of production. But completing the drain would cost $5 billion and, moreover, is politically impossible. Imagine the uproar over a project that would deliberately contaminate water deliveries to Southern California and harm wildlife and fisheries in the delta.

Option two, building an in-valley decontamination facility, seems no more likely. In his letter to the governor, Clark said that such a facility may not be technically feasible, would cost $4 billion and would destroy Kesterson (its probable site) as a wildlife refuge.

As a result, Clark told Deukmejian that option three, taking farmland out of production, may be the only alternative. "Needless to say," he went on, "this would have a devastating impact on agricultural and economic interests west of the San Joaquin River." And these are powerful interests (Southern Pacific and Standard Oil of California are among the landowners involved); they are not accustomed to take billion-dollar losses lying down.

So it stands: on one side is the real threat of seriously contaminating a water supply for millions of Californians. On the other side are the farmers and agribusiness interests faced with a staggering loss. It's hard to think of a more important issue facing state government at this time.

And yet the governor said nothing about it in his state-of-the-state, even though he devoted much of his message to describing his efforts to protect Californians from toxic wastes. At a general news conference a week later, he additionally backed away from becoming involved in a phase of the struggle that is currently before the State Water Resources Control Board.

(The board is trying to decide whether to issue an abatement order that could end seepage from Kesterson. However, even if the order were issued, it would not affect the heavier runoffs elsewhere. Also, the order, if issued, could be challenged in the courts, an action that could delay implementation for years.)

Whatever the governor's reasons for silence (and this is a situation in which any politician might fear to tread) the effect of it seems clear. By saying nothing, he helps reduce pressure for a solution on the farm and agribusiness interests that have supported him so heavily in the past. This is so because statements from the governor could do nothing but elevate the issue and increase public interest in it. And since the public inevitably would care more about water contamination than agribusiness losses, pressure on the polluters would increase.

Silence, as they say, is golden. *Robert Fairbanks*

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LOBBYISTS: A NEW SYMPHONY OF SERVICE

LARGE LOBBYING FIRMS OFFER ONE-STOP SHOPPING

By JOHN JERVIS and ROBERT FAIRBANKS

Back in the good old days, it was easy to do business with the Legislature. All you did was talk to the right person and your problem was solved.

If, for instance, you were a land developer and needed a freeway exit near your property to increase the property's value by about 1000 percent, you talked to Randy Collier, who — as chairman of the Senate Transportation Committee — was California's road-and-highway czar. Similarly, if you owned an insurance company and the Insurance Commissioner was on your back, you talked to Senator Dick Dolwig, who specialized in undercutting state regulations (before he went to prison for real estate fraud, of course).

The system also worked for those with goodness in their hearts. If, for instance, you wanted to help poor kids learn to read, you talked to Senate Finance Chairman George Miller, who could always get money into the state budget for some worthwhile cause.

And when you got to the Assembly with your problem, whatever it was, you talked to Speaker Jesse Unruh, who would tell you what would work there. (And then he would make sure that it did.)

But nothing is easy these days. For a variety of reasons — having to do with reapportionment, campaign costs, a diminished respect for seniority and other such political and even cultural factors — individual lawmakers rarely have that kind of power anymore. During last year's battle over Proposition 24 (the Gann initiative), there was much talk about the enormous powers of the Assembly Speaker. But the fact is that not even the Speaker is as powerful as he used to be. Because of a political trade made four years ago by the incumbent, Willie Brown, the Speaker's office doesn't even decide which bills go to which committees anymore. That authority has been given to the Committee on Rules.

All of which means that power in the Legislature is spread around. Today, doing business at the Capitol means talking to a laundry list of barons: committee chairmen, special committee chairmen, subcommittee chairmen, majority leaders, minority leaders, fiscal committee members, etc. And that's only after you've talked to their staffs.

And proper respect must be shown to these centers of power at all times or you are likely to lose your deal. For, according to veteran lobbyist Donald Burns, there are some among them who are quick to take offense. If, for example, you fail to bring your bill to the proper barons for perusal before a committee hearing, they may delay your measure for days or weeks or demand that it be substantially changed.

Changes in the third house

None of this is especially new. The trend toward diffusion of legislative power has been apparent for many years. But there's been a concomitant trend that's not so well known: the prodigious changes that have been occurring in the Capitol's lobbying corps. As power has spread through the Legislature (and into boards and commissions beyond), the

John Jervis recently resigned as an assistant deputy to State Controller Ken Cory for a career in public relations. Robert Fairbanks is editor of the California Journal. Journal *Managing Editor A. G. Block also contributed to this story.*

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lobbying corps has been growing and reorganizing itself to make sure that it still gets what it wants.

To understand the new situation, one should note first that the number of lobbyists has grown enormously. Back in 1969, when the state Senate published the first listing of "legislative advocates," the booklet carried 224 names. When this year's booklet comes out, it is expected to carry about 700.

(Lobbyists register now with the Secretary of State's office. Marian Ash, who is in charge of the process, says the book of lobbyists for the 1985-86 session will be published in April this year. As usual, the book will have lobbyist names, photos, lists of clients and the identity of employers.)

Although there are several reasons for this growth (and we'll get to some others in a moment) it seems clear that much of it results from the diffusion of legislative power. As more legislators play major roles in each decision, more lobbyists are needed to deal with them.

Presuming that most lobbyists are fairly well paid (and from the looks of them, they are) this proliferation in their numbers represents a substantial cost to the corporations, labor unions, cities, trade groups and others who do business at the Capitol. And, of course, this cost is eventually borne by the public at large. Maybe you didn't like how Randy Collier ran the freeway system but, as is often the case with one-stop shopping, he was cheaper and faster than going store-to-store.

Growth in government

Another reason for this burgeoning of the lobby corps is suggested by lobbyist Burns, who is also president of the lobbyists' own organization — the Institute of Governmental Advocates. He says the number of lobbyists has also grown because the role of state government has expanded considerably over the years. Thanks largely to the environmental and consumer-protection movements, federal grants of power to the states, the passage of Proposition 13 and other such developments, the state of California now regulates a host of activities that were beyond (or beneath) its notice before.

For instance, the siting of a sewage plant used to be a matter that was largely handled by local officials. But now a mass of state laws and regulations are involved. Thus, if your city wants to build a plant but has a major problem with one or more of those state laws, it must either hire a lobbyist or seek lobbying help from its trade association, the League of California Cities. In either case, the volume of lobbying work has grown.

Furthermore, Burns notes, an expansion of state authority is often accompanied by the creation of yet another state board or commission to oversee the new activity. Thus more lobbyists are needed to keep an eye on these agencies.

Hospital owners, for instance, once employed lobbyists largely to work the Legislature for an annual increase in state Medi-Cal payments to hospitals. But in 1982 lawmakers revamped the hospital-payment system and created a commission to oversee the new operation. As a result, hospital owners now need lobbyists not only to watch the Legislature but to watch the seven members of the Medical Assistance Commission as well.

Some contend that the growth rate in lobbydom also results, in part at least, from the growth of legislative staff (see "The Legislature's Growing staff," *CJ*, June 1983). Now numbering over 2000, the staff is not entirely composed of aides and consultants who draft bills by the drove, give advice to their employers and therefore become necessary objects of lobbyist attention but to many lobbyists, it sometimes seems that way.

BURNS

GARIBALDI

"With all these bills and all this staff, one spends many hours just explaining what something will or won't do," says the dean of Capitol lobbyists, James D. (The Judge) Garibaldi.

A change in the process

In any case, and for whatever the reasons, the lobbying corps has grown considerably over the last decade and more. However, something else is happening as well: The lobbying process itself is changing. It used to be that lobbying meant buttonholing lawmakers and winning their votes through rational argument, campaign contributions, bonhommie or whatever else some particular legislator might want or some particular lobbyist might offer.

But many lobbyists today do more. Although buttonholing lawmakers is still a major part of the lobby business, it is often seen nowadays as but one step (albeit the most important one) toward the more fundamental goal of shaping the law. Thus, in addition to buttonholing, many lobbyists provide services aimed at influencing the Legislature from without. They will handle public relations for the client and will help the client build the local groups (trade associations, primarily) that will raise money and generate public support for the client's cause. And, after the Legislature has acted, the lobbyist may follow up in the courts, providing whatever legal services may be needed to protect clients' interests there (see box).

And, of course, the process may work the other way. If the courts displease someone, and the someone can hire a lobbyist, the lobbyist may work the Legislature to overturn the court. And if the Legislature fails to act, the lobbyist may take a hand in building the public support needed to change the Legislative mind or perhaps even go so far as to help organize an initiative campaign.

Obviously, this broadened concept of lobbying is not in itself something new. Such organizations as the California Association of Realtors and the California Teachers Association — with their local organizations, press aides and legal backup — have been practicing it for years. For example, the realtors back in 1964, having failed to stop the Legislature and governor from enacting the state's first fair-housing law, had a strong enough organization to quickly put a repeal initiative on the ballot and get it approved. (The measure was eventually nullified by the state Supreme Court.)

The difference today is that this broad form of lobbying is no longer practiced only by realtors, teachers and other big organizations that employ their own lobbying staffs. Nowadays, it's being offered also by many contract lobbyists — that is, the "hired guns" at the Capitol — the lobbyists who will sell their services to anyone (respectable and credit-worthy, of course).

Today, the contract lobbying corps includes a half dozen

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or more lobbying firms with big staffs and a score or more of clients. Back in 1969, when the first lobbyist directory came out, there was no such thing. Nearly all lobbyists then were solo practitioners, each with a few clients and each jealously guarding the legislative contacts that were so important to his success.

Why the change? One answer comes from Jonathan Lewis, proprietor of a mid-size (three lobbyist) firm. He says the trend toward the creation of lobbying firms results largely from the realization among lobby clients that grassroots support, good press relations and other such services are necessary parts of getting what they want, and that the solo lobbyist cannot always cover those fields.

But there may be another reason as well, having to do with the diffusion of legislative power. With power spread among so many members of the Legislature, none is strong enough to withstand the political consequences of an adverse news story or small avalanche of angry mail. Knowing this, lobbyists are more likely to use those tools.

One of the biggest lobbying firms at the Capitol is A-K Associates, a firm with six lobbyists in Sacramento, three in Washington, D.C. and more than 40 clients. In addition to lobbying state government and Congress, it organizes and manages trade associations, provides legal advice, public-relations service and — like all lobbyists — tells clients how much money should be contributed to whom and when (see "Rising Stars of the Third House," *CJ*, October 1980).

S. Thomas Konovaloff, who founded the firm in 1973 with J. Michael Allen, says he and his partner built their firm not only by offering additional services but by going out to businesses that appeared to be having governmental problems and by convincing them that their problems could be solved through a well-organized governmental-relations campaign.

People who hire lobbyists

In other words, if the A-K experience is any guide, lobbying firms may grow and prosper by generating requests for new rules and regulations from business men and women who might not have thought of such requests before. As a result, state involvement with private business is likely to increase.

Interestingly, though, in conversations with several persons who have hired big lobbying firms, there was little mention of the extra services and selling techniques cited by Lewis and Konovaloff. For instance, on condition that his name not be used, a spokesman for the Olin Corporation agreed to discuss why his firm once retained A-K.

KONOVALOFF

J. M. ALLEN

Olin, manufacturers of Winchester Arms, needed a lobbyist in 1983 to help amend bills that would have banned armor-piercing bullets. The bills — meant to protect police officers — were written in such a way that they would also have banned the sale of much Olin-Winchester sporting ammunition, the spokesman said.

With no previous experience in California, and with little time in which to act (the bills were already moving through the Legislature), Olin asked other arms manufacturers with Sacramento experience to recommend a lobbyist. The first name to surface was that of a solo lobbyist with relatively few clients, but that person was rejected in favor of A-K.

According to the spokesman, A-K got the job in part because it had contacts with the prime supporter of the bills, Republican Senator Ed Davis of Los Angeles, the city's former police chief. But Olin also wanted A-K because the firm could put enough people on Olin's problem to reach all the legislators who had to be lobbied before time ran out.

"My experience tells me that if a firm has more resources, you tend to get better results," says the Olin representative. "Bigger does not necessarily mean better, but there's a limit to what a solo lobbyist can do. Also, with a firm, you're not totally dependent on one person."

And things worked out much as planned. A-K helped draft amendments that were acceptable to both Olin and Davis, merged the various bills into a single measure (SB64) and herded the whole thing through to passage and a gubernatorial signature in September 1983.

Money

Another corporation that favors lobbying firms over solo practitioners is Pearle Health Services, the Texas-based eyewear manufacturer. One reason is money, says Terry Latanich, Pearle vice president for governmental relations. Big firms have more clients and therefore have access to more money for campaign contributions. As a result, a lobbyist from a big firm is likely to get more legislative respect than a solo practioner.

Thus, last year, when Pearle was making another push for a new law that would allow its subsidiary — Pearle Vision Centers — to set up a statewide string of eyewear franchises, it hired some of the bigger lobbying firms at the Capitol: George Steffes, Inc., with five lobbyists; Winner/Wagner, with five; and Advocation, Inc., with three. Latanich says Advocation was hired largely because its owner, Donald Kent Brown, has a reputation as a fund

Lobbyists and lawyers

As if there weren't enough home-grown lobbying firms at the Capitol, they're moving in now from Washington, D.C. It's Heron, Burchette, Ruckert and Rothwell — a Washington-based lobbying and law firm that has just opened a Sacramento office.

Actually, the local branch is composed of local faces: John A. Norwood, William J. Thomas and Victoria C. Vernon, all of whom were solo lobbyists at the Capitol before joining the firm. Recently added as the fourth lobbyist on the staff is Jack Gualco, former special assistant to Speaker Willie Brown.

Norwood says the Washington link will give clients an edge in dealing with issues that may also involve the federal government. The firm also has an office in Austin, Texas.

Another local lobbyist who recently hooked up with a big law firm is Clayton R. Jackson. He has merged with one of California's oldest and largest — Lillick McHose and Charles.

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raiser. "His clients are among the biggest givers," he explains.

Pearle, opposed as usual by the state's independent optometrists, lost the fight in 1984. However, Latanich says, Pearle did better than before (when it wasn't itself giving campaign contributions) and plans to be back this year.

Latanich also says that lobbying firms are preferable because each of their individual lobbyists is likely to have his or her set of special contacts, thereby assuring clients broad access within the Legislature and, perhaps, to the public at large. One lobbyist may be well-connected to Assembly Democrats, another to Senate Republicans, a third to the Deukmejian administration; a fourth may be a public-relations whiz, and so on. Putting together a successful lobbying operation, Latanich says, is much like building a successful baseball team.

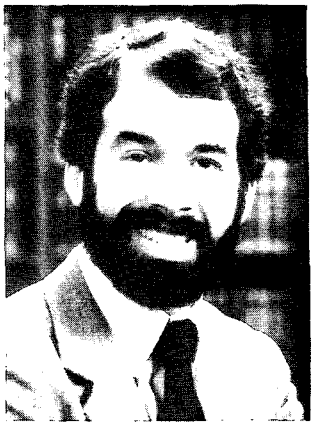
(In its battle last year, Pearle made an exception to its preference for big firms. It also hired the lobbying duo of Terri Thomas and Jim Neff, both former officials in the Jerry Brown administration and well-connected among legislative Democrats.)

Future of the small firm

In any case, if all this sounds like a death knell for small-scale lobbying, it isn't. Although the trend is toward bigness, there is no sign that the solo practitioner or small-scale lobbying operation will disappear. Many still believe that smaller is better.

Take, for instance, the assertion that a big firm is more effective because it can raise more money from its clients, which gives it more power in the Legislature. "Legislators have told me they don't like dealing with firms with lots of power," says Louis Bechtel, an Atlantic-Richfield (ARCO) official. Because of such legislative resentment, he says ARCO shies away from hiring large firms.

Bechtel, who manages ARCO's lobbying operations in seven states, adds that even a major oil company may get



LEWIS

STEFFES

lost within a large lobbying firm that has many clients. As a result, ARCO prefers to hire small firms because it is assured of more personal attention.

In California, he says, most ARCO lobbying is done by its own employees, but the firm occasionally hires an outsider. Back in 1981, for instance, when Arco was setting up its Sacramento operation and needed someone to show it the ropes, it hired Paul Priolo, the former GOP Assembly leader.

Revan Tratner, executive director of the Association of Bay Area Governments, has another complaint. He contends that large firms have too many administrative assistants and other such peripheral people. "Much of a large firm's costs and energies go into its own overhead and not into a client's problems," he says.

Michael Cabot, executive director of the Western Association of Insurance Brokers, says he doesn't like large firms because they may allow several lobbyists to work on the same account, creating confusion for the client. However, when his solo practitioner lobbyist, John A. Norwood, recently joined a large firm, Cabot went along. He says he was assured that Norwood alone would continue to handle his account.

And so it goes. The pro and con arguments over bigness

Kathy Rees: a solo who succeeds

A lot of people believe that lobbying success depends on an ability to throw lots of money around. And to a large extent, that's true. But there are many Capitol lobbyists who make it on the strength of character and effort. For instance, Kathy Rees is doing quite nicely these days, and she says her clients make no campaign contributions.

Rees, a capitol lobbyist since 1976, quit the staff of the California Hospital Association last year to go into business for herself. Having started in a cramped two-room office with another lobbyist, she is moving now into a four-room suite of her own and is planning to hire an assistant for writing and research.

At the moment, she has four clients, none especially big or powerful. There's the County Hospitals of California, the California Association of Children's Hospitals, Alzheimer's Disease and Related Disorders Association (members want Alzheimer's recognized as a disease and not mere senility) and the Occupational Therapy Association of California.

So, if she has no money to throw around, how does she protect her clients' interests? (As she did last year, for instance, by preserving some advantages for county hospitals under a hospital deregulation bill.) The answer seems to be that she's tenacious, intelligent, knowledgeable and nice.

"She can come at you and hammer at you so hard that if it weren't for her good humor, her pleasant attitude, she'd be thrown out of the office," says Senator Ken Maddy of Fresno. Steve Thompson, the health expert on Speaker Willie Brown's staff, says Rees has the best repertoire of jokes in the Capitol and uses it to establish rapport. Having established it, she moves in on the issues. And, says he, "She never gives up."

A former committee consultant explains her this way: "She comes down the hall, this little bitty blonde lady with bright blue eyes and you'd swear she's there to sell you Girl Scout cookies. All of a sudden you realize she's after something, and she goes from four-foot something to eight-foot-ten."

What are her prospects? "I'll guarantee you one thing," she says, "When you're my height, business is always bound to be looking up."

(Leo McElroy, Sacramento)

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could continue for years, and probably will. Among lobbyists themselves, many appear to have a live-and-let-live attitude. George Steffes, owner of one of the larger firms, says there will always be room for small lobbying operations, particularly those that specialize in a particular area, like Art Bauer in transportation.

Richard Ratcliff, a solo practitioner, says that it really doesn't matter much whether you are big or small. "The pay-off is walking the halls (of the Capitol), conversing with the secretaries and the sergeants-at-arms, knowing the staff. In short, absorbing the atmosphere of the place. That, plus your instincts, gives you the ability to work a given issue successfully."

IGA President Burns, whose firm employs three lobbyists, believes that lobbying operations today — big or small — are better than they were when legislative power was concentrated in relatively few hands. Having to convince more people of the rightness of their arguments, lobbyists today are better prepared and more knowledgeable on issues. As a result, not only the Legislature but the public is better informed.

Walter Zelman, executive director of Common Cause, agrees. Although his group is no friend of monied special interests, he says that the diffusion of power will have positive effects in the long run by making the public more aware of what's going on.

In other words, maybe the good old days weren't so good after all.

A DUBLINER'S VIEW OF THE CAPITOL

'Tain't Irish politics

Editor's note: Having arrived from Ireland for an internship at the Journal *last summer, Gabriella West, a student at Trinity College in Dublin, notes some basic political differences between California and her homeland.*

The difference between Irish and California politics is like the difference between Irish and California weather. One place is sort of gloomy and damp; the other seems to be hot and brisk, even feverish at times. A goodly amount of work seems to be accomplished in the Assembly and the Senate inside that beautiful white building, the Capitol. The corresponding edifice in Dublin — a large, grey bit of business called Leinster House — has never been accused of doing much at all. Perhaps the task of running this state is greater or more challenging than the task of running a country.

There are some similarities, however. The two-party system, for instance, is the same as in Ireland, although we also have a weak third party — Labour — which gets about eight percent of the vote. The California Democrats and Republicans seem to make a good team — one pulls one way; the other opposes any move of the opposition.

Although California is a big state with a lot of "big" business, the political system doesn't seem particularly corrupt — on the face of it anyway. The Fair Political Practice Commission must have a lot to do with that, or perhaps the shady deals are just better hidden. In Ireland politicians are constantly being "unmasked."

The governor? His powers aren't overwhelming as is proven by the recent demise of his water plan.

What I find strange about California politics is its distance from reality. At places like the *Journal*, one hears a lot about what is going on, but the public doesn't seem to come into it very much. There's not a lot of criticism or comment flying unceasingly around as in Ireland. There, the politicians are unpopular, much reviled, and constantly being shown up or picked to pieces. There is a general consensus that they are apathetic, immoral and doing a rotten job. Since the state of the Irish economy is so terrible, this isn't hard to understand. With the unemployment rate at 16 percent and rising, the only thing that keeps people from joining extreme groups like Sinn Fein (the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, is high welfare payments.

Here in California, people leave the work of politics to politicians who claim to represent them. Presumably, they're satisfied. Perhaps the economy will have to slow down, or crime rates shoot up or unemployment skyrocket before people start to show an interest.

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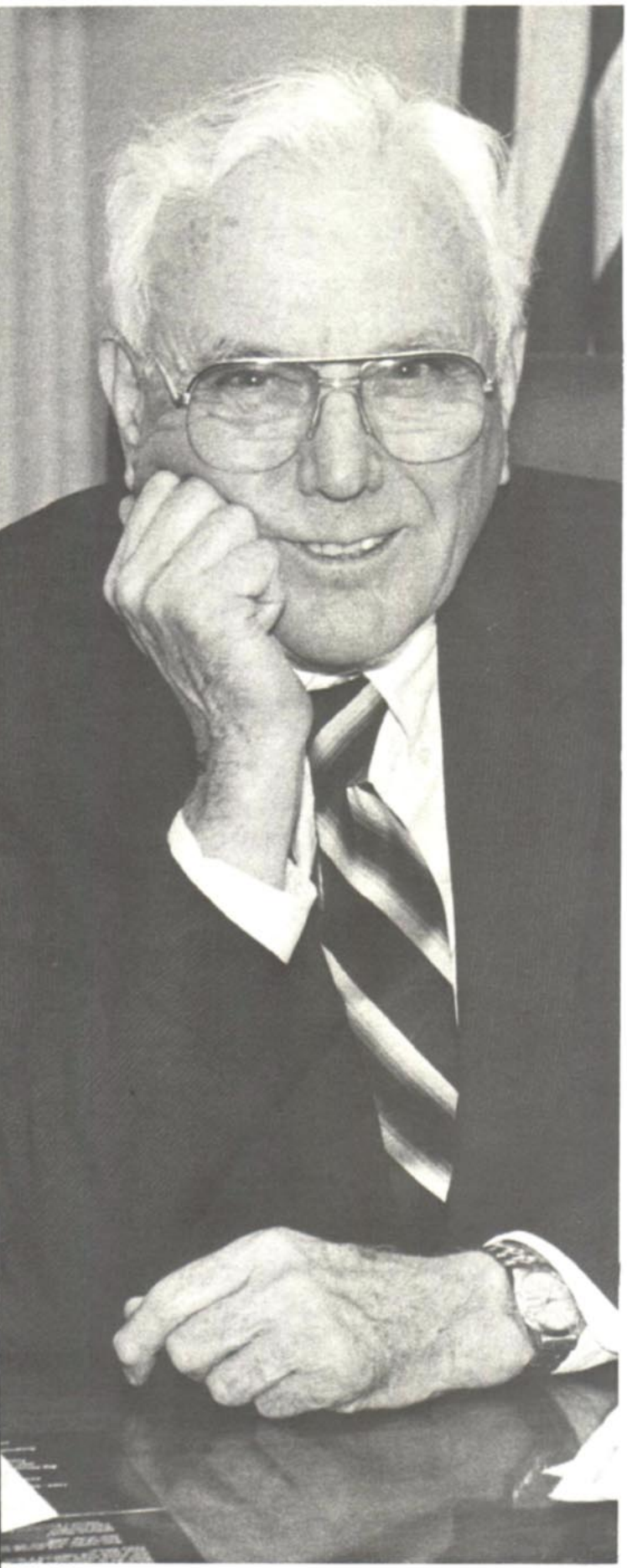

Allen Quinn

A CALIFORNIA JOURNAL INTERVIEW:

SENATOR AL ALQUIST ON THE STATE OF THE STATE

Editor's note: In his state-of-the-state speech January 8th, Governor George Deukmejian formally declared California back from the brink of fiscal disaster and ready for excellence again. And in his proposed budget, which he presented to the Legislature January 10th, he gave some idea of what he means: more money for public schools, higher education, prisons, to fight toxic waste and so on.

Just about everyone was pleased. Republicans were happy because while the governor was urging bigger spending, he also was saying there would be no tax increases and he would be cutting the number of state employees. And besides, no matter what he says, he's their man.

Most Democrats also glowed. They had suspected that the governor might scrimp on state spending this year to finance an election-year tax cut in 1986, one that could make them look bad. But despite some questioning of his underlying fiscal forecasts, which suggest that a tax cut remains possible, they saw little wrong with his budget and rejoiced in its generous fundings.

For another reaction the Journal *turned to Senator Al Alquist of San Jose, the crusty chairman of the Senate's two new finance committees. A Democratic liberal and former railroad union employee, he's been in the Legislature for 24 years, has considerable power and says nothing surprises him anymore.*

Journal: What about the governor's state-of-the-state?

Alquist: Well, it sounded like it might have been written by one of Ronald Reagan's speech writers. You know, "Bring California back to excellence," like Reagan is bringing America back — whatever he means by that. And who can quarrel with what the governor had to say. You know, he said he's going to give more money to everybody — even to welfare programs. He's not going to raise taxes. But the real answer will come when we find out what he does on the 15th of June when he gets the Legislative version of the budget.

Journal: Back in 1983, right after he was elected, the state had that $1.5 billion deficit. You were one of the strongest advocates then of a sales tax increase to solve the problem. But the governor opposed it and said we could meet that deficit without a general increase in taxes. And that's what happened.

Alquist: The governor chose to ignore the constitution, which requires a balanced budget. He did not have a balanced budget in 1983, and he was only able to do these things by the resurgence in the national economy. Our

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problems in 1982-83 were caused by the recession we were in.

Journal: He saw the resurgence coming, and he thought there would be enough money available to solve the problems without a tax increase, and he was correct in that.

Alquist: That's very true; it did turn out that way, but if we hadn't had this resurgence of the economy, this somewhat "boom" times caused by Reagan's deficit spending wouldn't have come about. It isn't anything that Deukmejian himself has done that brought about the prosperity we are enjoying. In his speech, he takes credit for everything. You know, employment is up. What did he have to do with that? The $200 billion deficit of Ronald Reagan's has had a great deal to do with this booming economy.

Journal: What's the state-of-the-state according to Al Alquist?

Alquist: I'd say that currently we are enjoying "boom" times, but we're also faced with that uncertainty caused by that mounting federal debt.

Journal: How do you see the mounting federal debt affecting California?

Alquist: It's bound to affect our economy by forcing up interest rates. While they've come down somewhat in recent years, they are still far too high and it's discouraging the housing market. There were headlines in the morning *(San Jose) Mercury News* about the semi-conductor industry and the recession that that industry is currently facing. One of our largest firms there is closing down for two weeks and possibly another two weeks later on.

Deukmejian as a legislator

Journal: You and the governor came to the Assembly together in 1962 and you moved to the Senate together in 1966. What kind of a legislator was he in your opinion?

Alquist: He was sort of average. He never did take any real leadership in anything.

Journal: He was leader of the Senate Republicans there for a while wasn't he?

Alquist: I don't remember. I don't associate him with any strong position on anything except "tough-on-crime." About the only thing he seemed to be interested in was increasing criminal penalties, demanding the imposition of the death penalty in more and more cases, and he's still doing that.

Journal: Do you think that's right?

Alquist: They're popular ideas. I mean the public is more or less demanding it. But I don't think it's working really. Our prisons are bulging at the seams.

Journal: Do you think that crime rates are going up?

Alquist: Those things are mainly due to whose statistics you want to take or who keeps the records. Hardly a day goes by that you don't find some brutal rape or child-molestation case, and for someone to say that crime went down doesn't add up with the facts.

Journal: You and the governor served together for a long time in the Legislature, yet you became one of his most bitter opponents. What caused that bitterness to develop?

Alquist: I don't refer to it as bitterness. Let's say a strong difference of opinion. Actually, I like George Deukmejian and regard him as a friend of sorts.

Journal: How would you explain those differences?

Alquist: George seems to feel — although his most recent statement seems to indicate a change — that the state has no real responsibility for the social programs that we have developed. He's perfectly willing to cut back on aid to families with dependent children. He vetoed all of the nursing-home reform bills that we sent to him last year for some insignificant reason.

Journal: Those bills have been reintroduced and the minor objections that he had to them have been removed. They expect to pass them very soon.

Alquist: If they were so minor, then why would he not sign? And then here he's claiming that he's bringing our schools back to excellence, and the Legislature had to force him to put adequate money into SB813 *(the major school-reform bill)* last year. Then I guess my major objections those first two years were his almost total contempt for the Legislature. And I think that's what surprised me most for a man who had spent 16 years in the Legislature to then turn around and think he could operate as governor without cooperation from the Legislature.

Journal: How did that show itself?

Alquist: The most blatant example was his water plan last year, where he stated that he didn't need the Legislature. *(During an April 24th news conference, the governor indicated that he would start a new North-South water facility with or without legislative approval. His words generated a major controversy, and he never expressed the thought again.)*

Journal: Did the fight over the governor's mansion out there on the American River have anything to do with your feeling toward him? You were moving, even before he was elected, to sell the mansion. Jerry Brown would never live in it and you've said that it should be closer to the seat of government downtown. And then he says he wants to live in it. Did that get involved in any of the disputes between you?

Alquist: Oh, no. I feel very strongly that the governor's mansion ought to be part of the Capitol complex downtown. But I didn't have any personal feelings toward George or anyone else over that. And I don't really believe that the Deukmejians wanted to live in that house. I think that they felt obligated to Ronald and Nancy Reagan *(who approved the site and construction)*. As a matter of fact, I was told by someone who had gone out with Mrs. Deukmejian on her first visit to the place, when she looked it over and said "Oh, my God, George thinks he's got problems." That's when she thought she was going to have to live out there.

> "It isn't anything that Deukmejian himself has done that brought about the prosperity we are enjoying."

Journal: Were you told that by someone in the administration?

Alquist: I'm not going to identify who told me that.

Journal: What about this new attitude of sweetness and light between the governor and members of the Legislature? After the state-of-the-state, Speaker Willie Brown splits that olive branch three ways: part for himself, part for President pro Tem Dave Roberti, and then part for the governor. How do you feel about that?

Alquist: Showmanship is all.

Journal: Do you think it will last?

Alquist: No.

Journal: Why not?

Alquist: I guess rivalry between the two houses, rivalry between the two branches, or three branches, of government. And people are going to be resentful to see some of their pet programs cut back, or cut out.

Journal: Why does the Assembly seem to be taking the lead in this new era of good feelings rather than the Senate?

Alquist: I think they felt a little public reaction towards some of their antics last year. I think they were a little more outspoken and more visible in some of the more par-

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tisan things they were doing. I think that Prop 24 *(the Gann initiative)* was brought about primarily because of *(Assembly Speaker)* Willie Brown and the way the Assembly was run.

Journal: What did Brown do?

Alquist: He's pretty arrogant and high-handed. In fact, I've gotten considerable mail from people criticizing me because of Willie Brown. As if I had something to do with him and his actions. I don't think that all people really understand that the Legislature is two separate houses. They just think of us all as a group. After 18 years here as a senator, I still get letters addressed to "Assemblyman Alquist."

Journal: In his state-of-the-state speech, the governor was very strong in criticizing actions of the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Rose Bird. Did it appear that he's planning for his '86 campaign, running against Rose Bird and the Court?

Alquist: Oh, there's no question, no question in my mind about that.

Journal: Are you concerned as a Democrat in a state that seems to be going conservative that you'll have a fairly liberal ticket in 1986 of perhaps Tom Bradley *(for governor)*, Alan Cranston *(for U.S. Senate)* and Rose Bird *(for confirmation)*?

Alquist: Yes, that's concerning me very much. Democrats being what they are, they're going to renominate Tom Bradley. Tom Bradley will be defeated again by George Deukmejian because of his position that defeated him last time — gun control. He came out very strongly in favor of gun control and that alone could have accounted for the less-than-one-percent margin he lost by. It's kind of hard to make any "soft-on-crime" charge against a former police officer *(Bradley)* but I think that Tom — being the decent person that he is — will come out in support of Rose Bird. I think George is going to make that a focal point, that the Supreme Court, those liberal justices, are defeating the will of the people.

Journal: How about Cranston?

Alquist: I don't think he will be as directly affected by those things, and I think he's a little bit shrewder politician than Tom, in one sense, and that he would be able to handle those charges in a somewhat better way.

Journal: Has the Legislature changed much since you came here in 1962?

Alquist: Oh, yes. Tremendously!

Journal: In what ways?

Alquist: It's far less self-disciplined as a body, and there is more of an individualistic, selfish attitude among the legislators. In my first year here there was some concern about the welfare of the state as a whole. Now the legislators seem more concerned about their own little voting block down in their district. They have their own personal concerns.

Journal: When you came to the Senate you joined the so-called "young Turks" and you threw out the old guard, the group that was supposedly too close to lobbyists. One of their symbols was the Derby Club. They all went over to Posey's Restaurant and the put on their black derbies — lobbyists and legislators — and they had a good time. Well, now you're the president of the Derby Club. What's going on here?

Alquist: I had nothing to do with the Derby Club until after the passage of Proposition 9 in 1974, and I guess that was just my protest against the establishment of that "witch-hunting" crowd *(the Fair Political Practices Commission)*, which served no purpose, really. At least in my opinion. It's just a goddamn nuisance.

Journal: What's that got to do with the Derby Club?

Alquist: Well, nothing really, except that's the one pre-Prop 9 lobby operation still going, and it's not really a lobby operation, except we still meet there as friends. Everybody pays his own tab.

Journal: Back when you wouldn't go, the lobbyists were paying the tab. Now you pay your own tab?

Alquist: Now, you pay your own. That's the major difference, and there's not as many legislators going now since it's not free. But there's a lot of camaraderie.

"I'm a victim of Ronald Reagan's charm like everybody else, I guess. He was the easiest governor to get along with. . ."

Journal: Are you personally going to support Rose Bird?

Alquist: If Rose asked me to, I would certainly give her my full support.

Journal: Deukmejian's not the first governor you've not gotten along with. There's a report that you once threw Jerry Brown out of your office. Supposedly, this happened before he was governor. He had been nominated and he came around looking for your support.

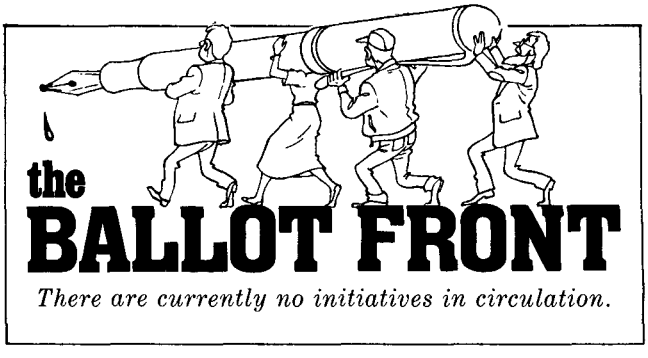
Alquist: Oh! Yes, I was really furious at Brown over the Prop 9 thing that he had campaigned on. *(Proposition 9 of 1974 created the Fair Political Practices Commission. It was supported by Brown and others who contended that legislators were too close to lobbyists.)* And then he came around wanting me to support him, and I told him I wouldn't support him for anything.

Journal: What did you think of Ronald Reagan as governor?

Alquist: I'm a victim of Ronald Reagan's charm like everybody else, I guess. He was the easiest governor to get along with of any governor we've ever had here. He's a very charming, personable man. I like him. I don't like what he does, but you wouldn't want a better dinner companion or someone to spend an evening with. You know, he had us out to his house for dinner regularly when he was governor, either as a whole group or small dinner parties. You could call down there and ask, "Could I see the governor sometime today?" "Sure, come on down." That sort of thing.

Journal: But you led one of the few veto overrides against him. Here he breaks bread with you and you lead an override of his state-employee pay increase veto, wasn't it?

Alquist: You've heard the old saying around here — one of the things you learn is how to disagree without being disagreeable. I try as much as I can to separate my personal life from my political life. Your feelings about issues that affect the state are one thing and your personal feelings toward another individual are something different. I like George Deukmejian and I have a lot of respect for him as a man, but I don't like his approach to government.



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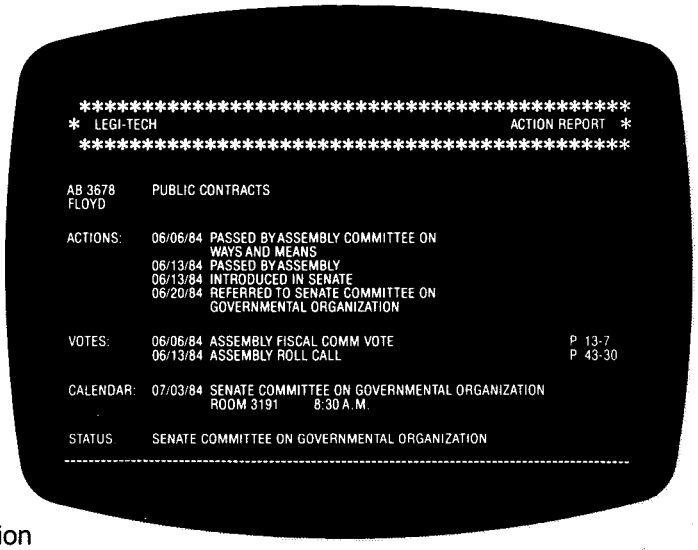
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06/13/84 INTRODUCED IN SENATE
06/20/84 REFERRED TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION
VOTES: 06/06/84 ASSEMBLY FISCAL COMM VOTE P 13-7
06/13/84 ASSEMBLY ROLL CALL P 43-30
CALENDAR: 07/03/84 SENATE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION
ROOM 3191 8:30 A.M.
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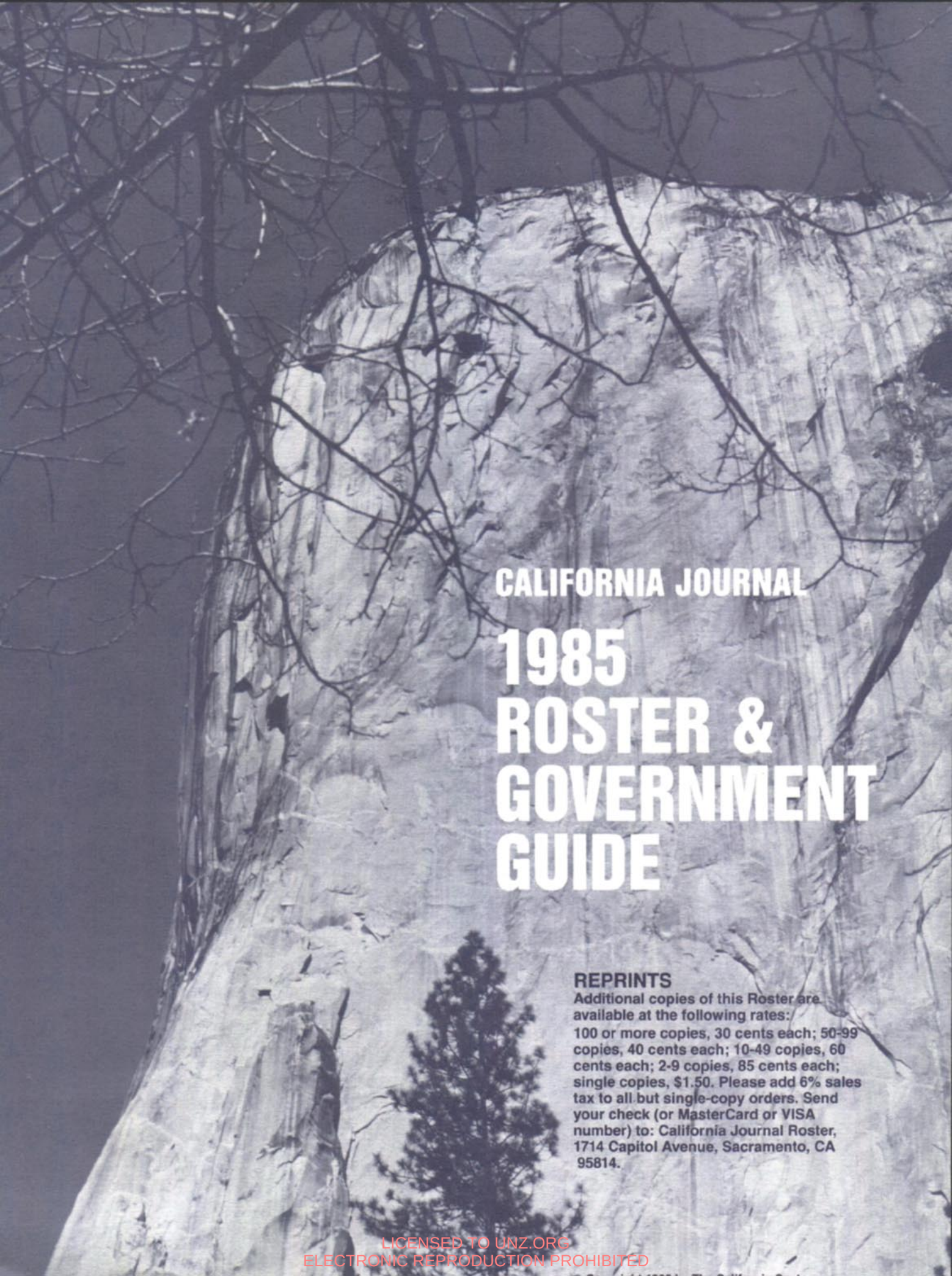

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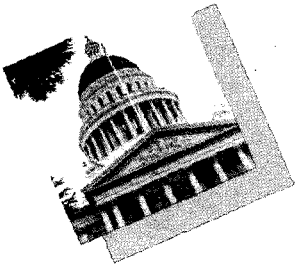

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Chappie, Eugene	R	2	Butte, Colusa, Lake, Napa, Shasta, Sutter, Tehama, Yuba, Glenn, Nevada, Siskiyou	500 Cohasset Road #30, Chico 95926	(916) 893-8363
Coelho, Tony	D	15	Merced, Mariposa, Stanislaus, Fresno	415 W. 18th St., Federal Bldg. Merced 95340	(209) 383-4455
Dannemeyer, William	R	39	Orange	1235 N. Harbor Blvd. #100, Fullerton 92632	(714) 992-0141
Dellums, Ronald V.	D	8	Alameda, Contra Costa	201 13th St., Room 105, Oakland 94617	(415) 763-0370
Dixon, Julian	D	28	Los Angeles	111 N. La Brea, Suite 301, Inglewood 90301	(213) 678-5424
Dornan, Robert	R	38	Orange, Los Angeles	12387 Lewis St., 2nd Floor Garden Grove 92640	(714) 971-9292
Dreier, David	R	33	Los Angeles	112 N. 2nd Ave., Covina 91723	(818) 339-9078
Dymally, Mervyn	D	31	Los Angeles	322 W. Compton Blvd., Compton 90220	(213) 536-6930
Edwards, Don	D	10	Alameda, Santa Clara	280 S. 1st St. #372 Federal Bldg., San Jose 95113	(408) 292-0143
Fazio, Vic	D	4	Sacramento, Yolo, Solano	4811 Chippendale Dr. #503, Sacramento 95841	(916) 484-4174
Fiedler, Bobbi	R	21	Los Angeles, Ventura	21053 Devonshire Blvd., Chatsworth 91311	(818) 341-2121
Hawkins, Augustus	D	29	Los Angeles	4509 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90037	(213) 750-0260
Hunter, Duncan	R	45	San Diego, Imperial	366 S. Pierce, El Cajon 92020	(619) 579-3001
Lagomarsino, Robert	R	19	Santa Barbara, Ventura	5740 Ralston St., Ventura 93003	(805) 642-2200
Lantos, Tom	D	11	San Mateo	520 S. El Camino Real #800, San Mateo 94402	(415) 342-0300
Lehman, Richard	D	18	Calaveras, Fresno, Mono, San Joaquin, Tuolumne, Madera	1900 Mariposa Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 487-5760
Levine, Mel	D	27	Los Angeles	5250 W. Century Blvd., Los Angeles 90045	(213) 215-2035
Lewis, Jerry	R	35	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	101 S. 6th, Redlands, 92373	(714) 792-5901
Lowery, Bill	R	41	San Diego	880 Front St. #6S15, San Diego 92188	(619) 231-0957
Lungren, Dan	R	42	Los Angeles, Orange	555 E. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	(213) 436-9133
Martinez, Matthew G.	D	30	Los Angeles	1712 W. Beverly Blvd., Montebello 90640	(213) 722-7731
Matsui, Robert	D	3	Sacramento	650 Capitol Mall #8058, Sacramento 95814	(916) 440-3543
McCandless, Al	R	37	Riverside	6529 Riverside Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 682-7127
Miller, George	D	7	Contra Costa	367 Civic Dr., Pleasant Hill 94523	(415) 687-3260
Mineta, Norman Y.	D	13	Santa Clara	1245 S. Winchester Blvd. #310, San Jose 95128	(408) 984-6045
Moorhead, Carlos J.	R	22	Los Angeles	420 N. Brand Blvd., Glendale 91203	(818) 247-8445
Packard, Ron	R	43	Orange, San Diego	2121 Palomar Airport Rd. #105, Carlsbad 92008	(619) 438-0443
Panetta, Leon E.	D	16	Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Benito, San Luis Obispo	380 Alvarado, Monterey 93940	(408) 649-3555
Pashayan, Charles	R	17	Kings, Kern, Tulare, Fresno	1702 E. Bullard #103, Fresno 93710	(209) 487-5500
Roybal, Edward R.	D	25	Los Angeles	300 N. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles 90012	(213) 688-4870
Shumway, Norman	R	14	San Joaquin, El Dorado, Amador, Alpine, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta	1150 W. Robinhood, Stockton 95207	(209) 957-7773
Stark, Fortney (Pete)	D	9	Alameda	22300 Foothill Blvd. #1029, Hayward 94541	(415) 635-1092
Thomas, William	R	20	Kern, San Luis Obispo, Los Angeles, Inyo	1830 Truxtun Ave. #200, Bakersfield 93301	(805) 327-3611
Torres, Esteban E.	D	34	Los Angeles	12440 E. Firestone #117, Norwalk 90650	(213) 929-2711
Waxman, Henry A.	D	24	Los Angeles	8425 West 3rd St., Los Angeles 90048	(213) 651-1040
Zschau, Ed	R	12	San Mateo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz	505 W. Olive, Suite 125, Sunnyvale 94086	(408) 730-8555

*Mail for senators may be addressed to U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510, (202) 224-3121.

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CALIFORNIA STATE SENATE

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Office*	Telephone (District)	(Capitol)
Alquist, Alfred E.	D	13	Santa Clara	100 Paseo de San Antonio, San Jose 95113	(408) 286-8318	445-9740
Ayala, Ruben S.	D	34	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	515 N. Arrowhead Ave., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 884-3165	445-6868
Bergeson, Marian	R	37	Orange	140 Newport Center Dr. #120 Newport Beach 92660	(714) 640-1137	445-4961
Beverly, Robert G.	R	29	Los Angeles	1611 S. Pacific Coast Highway Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-1611	445-6447
Boatwright, Dan	D	7	Contra Costa	1035 Detroit Ave., #200 Concord 94518	(415) 689-1973	445-6083
Campbell, William	R	31	Los Angeles, Orange	1661 Hanover Road, City of Industry 91748	(818) 964-1443	445-2848
Carpenter, Paul B.	D	33	Orange, Los Angeles	5400 Orange Ave., Cypress 90630	(714) 952-3201	445-5581
Craven, William	R	38	San Diego	2121 Palomar Airport Rd., Carlsbad 92008	(619) 438-3814	445-3731
Davis, Ed	R	19	Los Angeles, Ventura, San Fernando, Santa Barbara	11145 Tampa Ave. #21 B Northridge 91326	(818) 368-1171	445-8873
Deddeh, Wadie	D	40	San Diego	430 Davidson St., Chula Vista 92010	(619) 427-7080	445-6767
Dills, Ralph C.	D	30	Los Angeles	16921 S. Western Ave., Gardena 90247	(213) 324-4969	445-5953
Doolittle, John T.	R	1	El Dorado, Lassen, Modoc, Placer, Plumas, Sacramento, Sierra, Siskiyou, Sutter, Trinity, Yolo, Yuba, Nevada	720 Sunrise Ave. #110-D, Roseville 95678	(916) 989-8000	445-5788
Ellis, Jim	R	39	San Diego	2755 Navajo Rd., El Cajon 92020	(619) 464-7204	445-3952
Foran, John F.	D	8	San Francisco, San Mateo	15 Southgate Ave., #238 Daly City 94015	(415) 755-1766	445-0503
Garamendi, John	D	5	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, Mono, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Tuolumne, Yolo	31 E. Channel St., #440, Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7930	445-2407
Greene, Bill	D	27	Los Angeles	8514 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90003-3387	(213) 620-5600	445-2104
Greene, Leroy F.	D	6	Sacramento	P.O. Box 254646, Sacramento 95825	(916) 481-6540	445-7807
Hart, Gary	D	18	Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Ventura	1216 State St., #507, Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-1766	445-5405
Keene, Barry	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Sonoma, Solano	631 Tennessee St., Vallejo 94590	(707) 648-4080	445-3375
Lockyer, Bill	D	10	Alameda	22300 Foothill Blvd., #415, Hayward 94541	(415) 582-8800	445-6671
Maddy, Ken	R	14	Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Monterey	3433 W. Shaw Ave., #119, Fresno 93711	(209) 445-5567	445-9600
Marks, Milton	R	3	San Francisco, Marin	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-1437	445-1412
McCorquodale, Dan	D	12	Santa Clara, Stanislaus	100 Paseo de San Antonio, San Jose 95113	(408) 277-1470	445-3104
Mello, Henry	D	17	Monterey, San Benito, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito Rd., Monterey 93940	(408) 373-0773	445-5843
Montoya, Joseph	D	26	Los Angeles	11001 Valley Mall, #204, El Monte 91731	(818) 575-6956	445-3386
Morgan, Rebecca	R	11	San Mateo, Santa Clara	175 S. San Antonio Rd., #217 Los Altos 94022	(415) 949-1984	445-6747
Nielsen, Jim	R	4	Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Lake, Napa, Shasta, Sonoma, Tehama	1074 East Ave #N, Chico 95926	(916) 343-3546	445-3353
Petris, Nicholas C.	D	9	Alameda, Contra Costa	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-1333	445-6577
Presley, Robert B.	D	36	Riverside	3600 Lime St., Riverside 92501	(714) 781-4111	445-9781
Richardson, H. L.	R	25	Inyo, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	211 S. Glendora Blvd., Glendora 91740	(818) 914-5855	445-3688
Robbins, Alan	D	20	Los Angeles	6320 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys 91401	(818) 988-5894	445-3121
Roberti, David	D	23	Los Angeles	6671 Sunset Blvd., #1508, Hollywood 90028	(213) 464-1178	445-8390
Rosenthal, Herschel	D	22	Los Angeles	11340 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 90064	(213) 479-5588	445-7928
Royce, Edward R.	R	32	Orange	161 N. Raymond Ave., #211 Anaheim 92801	(714) 871-0270	445-5831
Russell, Newton R.	R	21	Los Angeles	401 N. Brand Blvd., Glendale 91203	(818) 247-7021	445-5976
Seymour, John	R	35	Orange	1360 S. Anaheim Blvd., Anaheim 92805	(714) 999-0963	445-4264
Stiern, Walter W.	D	16	Kern, Kings, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	1311 California Ave., #A, Bakersfield 93304	(805) 395-2797	445-6637
Torres, Art	D	24	Los Angeles	548 S. Spring St. #500, Los Angeles 90013	(213) 627-5333	445-3456
Vuich, Rose Ann	D	15	Fresno, Tulare	120 W. Tulare, Dinuba 93618	(209) 591-5005	445-4641
Watson, Diane E.	D	28	Los Angeles	4401 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles 90043	(213) 295-6655	445-5215

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CALIFORNIA STATE ASSEMBLY

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Office*	Telephone (District)	(Capitol)
Agnos, Art	D	16	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2253	445-8253
Alatorre, Richard	D	55	Los Angeles	5200 York Blvd., Los Angeles 90042	(213) 255-7111	445-7587
Allen, Doris	R	71	Orange	5911 Cerritos Ave., Cypress 90630	(714) 821-1500	445-6233
Areias, Rusty	D	25	Santa Clara, Monterey, Merced, San Benito	140 Central, Salinas 93901	(408) 422-4344	445-7380
Bader, Charles W.	R	65	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	203 W. G St., Ontario 91762	(714) 983-6011	445-8490
Baker, William	R	15	Contra Costa, Alameda	1243 Alpine Rd., Suite 102, Walnut Creek 94596	(415) 932-2537	445-8528
Bane, Tom	D	40	Los Angeles	5430 Van Nuys Blvd., #206, Van Nuys 91401	(818) 986-8090	445-3134
Bates, Tom	D	12	Alameda, Contra Costa	1414 Walnut St., Berkeley 94709	(415) 540-3176	445-7554
Bradley, Bill	R	76	San Diego, Riverside	125 W. Mission Ave. #101, Escondido 92025	(619) 489-8924	445-8211
Bronzan, Bruce	D	31	Fresno	2115 Kern St. #250, Fresno 93721	(209) 445-5532	445-8514
Brown, Dennis	R	58	Los Angeles, Orange	1945 Palo Verde Ave. #203 Long Beach 90815	(213) 493-5514	445-8492
Brown, Willie L., Jr.	D	17	San Francisco	540 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-0784	445-8077
Calderon, Charles	D	59	Los Angeles	1712 W. Beverly Blvd., Montebello 90640	(213) 721-2904	445-0854
Campbell, Robert	D	11	Contra Costa	2901 Macdonald Ave., Richmond 94804	(415) 237-8171	445-7890
Chacon, Peter R.	D	79	San Diego	1129 G. St., San Diego 92101	(619) 232-2405	445-7610
Clute, Steve	D	68	Riverside	3600 Lime St. #716, Riverside 92501	(714) 781-3222	445-5416
Condit, Gary	D	27	Stanislaus, Merced	948 11 St., Suite 10, City Mall, Modesto 95354	(209) 576-6211	445-8570
Connelly, Lloyd G.	D	6	Sacramento	2705 K St., Suite 6-A, Sacramento 95816	(916) 443-1183	445-2484
Cortese, Dominic	D	24	Santa Clara	3535 Ross Ave., San Jose 95124	(408) 269-6500	445-8243
Costa, Jim	D	30	Madera, Fresno, Merced, Kings	1111 Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 264-3078	445-7558
Davis, Gray	D	43	Los Angeles	18321 Ventura Blvd. #655, Tarzana 91356	(818) 783-9420	445-4956
Eaves, Gerald R.	D	66	San Bernardino	241 E. Baseline #D Rialto 92376	(714) 820-1902	445-4843
Elder, Dave	D	57	Los Angeles	245 Broadway, Long Beach 90802	(213) 590-5009	445-7454
Farr, Sam	D	28	Monterey, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito, Monterey 93940	(408) 646-1980	445-8496
Felando, Gerald	R	51	Los Angeles	1514 Cabrillo Ave., Torrance 90501	(213) 320-6262	445-7906
Ferguson, Gil	R	70	Orange	4667 MacArthur Blvd. #305 Newport Beach 92660	(714) 756-0665	445-7222
Filante, Bill	R	9	Marin, Sonoma	30 N. San Pedro Rd. #135 San Rafael 94903	(415) 479-4920	445-7827
Floyd, Richard E.	D	53	Los Angeles	16921 S. Western Ave., Gardena 90247	(213) 516-4037	445-0965
Frazee, Robert C.	R	74	San Diego, Orange	3088 Pio Pico Dr., Suite 200, Carlsbad 92008	(619) 434-1749	445-2390
Frizzelle, Nolan	R	69	Orange	17195 Newhope, #201 Fountain Valley 92708	(714) 662-5503	445-8377
Grisham, Wayne	R	63	Los Angeles	13710 Studebaker Rd. #202 Norwalk 90650	(213) 929-1797	445-6047
Hannigan, Tom	D	4	Yolo, Solano	844 Union Ave. #A Fairfield 94533	(707) 429-2383	445-8368
Harris, Elihu	D	13	Alameda	1111 Jackson St., #5027 Oakland 94607	(415) 464-0339	445-7442
Hauser, Dan	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Sonoma	50 D St. #450, Santa Rosa 95404	(707) 576-2526	445-8360
Hayden, Tom	D	44	Los Angeles	1337 Santa Monica Mall, Santa Monica 90401	(213) 393-2717	445-1676
Herger, Wally	R	3	Colusa, Sutter, Yuba, Sierra, Nevada, Butte	1521 Butte House Rd. #C Yuba City 95991	(916) 673-2201	445-7298
Hill, Frank	R	52	Los Angeles	15111 E. Whittier Blvd. #385 Whittier 90603	(213) 945-7681	445-7550
Hughes, Teresa P.	D	47	Los Angeles	3253 S. Hoover St., Los Angeles 90007	(213) 747-7451	445-7498
Isenberg, Phil	D	10	Sacramento, San Joaquin, Contra Costa	1215 15th St., Suite 102, Sacramento 95814	(916) 324-4676	445-1611
Johnson, Ross	R	64	Orange	1501 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 738-5853	445-7448
Johnston, Pat	D	26	San Joaquin	31 E. Channel St. #306 Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7479	445-7931
Jones, Bill	R	32	Fresno, Tulare, Madera, Mariposa	1441 S. Mooney Blvd. #D Visalia 93277	(209) 734-1182	445-2931

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CALIFORNIA STATE ASSEMBLY *continued*

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Office*	Telephone (District)	(Capitol)
Katz, Richard	D	39	Los Angeles	9140 Van Nuys Blvd., #109 Panorama City 91402	(818) 894-3671	445-1616
Kelley, David	R	73	Riverside	41555 E. Florida, Hemet 92344	(714) 652-5023	445-7852
Killea, Lucy	D	78	San Diego	2550 5th Ave., #1020 San Diego 92103	(619) 232-2046	445-7210
Klehs, Johan	D	14	Alameda	2450 Washington Ave., #260 San Leandro 94577	(415) 464-0847	445-8160
Konnyu, Ernest	R	22	Santa Clara	7337 Bollinger Rd., Cupertino 95014	(408) 446-4114	445-8305
Lafollette, Marian W.	R	38	Los Angeles	11145 Tampa Ave. #17A, Northridge 91326	(818) 368-3835	445-8366
Lancaster, Bill	R	62	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	362 E. Rowland St., Covina 91723	(818) 332-6271	445-9234
Leonard, William	R	61	San Bernardino	1323 W. Colton Ave., #101, Redlands 92374	(714) 798-4242	445-7552
Lewis, John R.	R	67	Orange	626 E. Chapman Ave., Orange 92666	(714) 997-9270	445-2778
Margolin, Burt M.	D	45	Los Angeles	8425 W. 3rd St. #406 Los Angeles 90048	(213) 655-9750	445-7440
McAlister, Alister	D	18	Santa Clara, Alameda	554 Valley Way, Milpitas 95035	(408) 263-5300	445-7874
McClintock, Tom	R	36	Ventura	Paseo Camarillo, 350 N. Lantana Camarillo 93010	(805) 987-9797	445-7402
Mojonnier, Sunny	R	75	San Diego	3368 Governor Dr., Suite C, San Diego 92122	(619) 457-5775	445-2112
Molina, Gloria	D	56	Los Angeles	5261 E. Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 90022	(213) 721-5557	445-1670
Moore, Gwen	D	49	Los Angeles	3731 Stocker St., Los Angeles 90008	(213) 292-0605	445-8800
Moorhead, Jean	D	5	Sacramento, Placer	6830 Antelope Rd., Citrus Heights 95610	(916) 969-9388	445-4445
Mountjoy, Richard	R	42	Los Angeles	406 S. 1st Ave., Arcadia 91006	(818) 446-3134	445-7234
Naylor, Robert W.	R	20	San Mateo	666 Elm St., San Carlos 94070	(415) 591-5544	445-8188
Nolan, Patrick J.	R	41	Los Angeles	143 S. Glendale Ave., #208 Glendale 91205	(818) 240-6330	445-8364
O'Connell, Jack	D	35	Santa Barbara, Ventura	Studio 127, El Paseo, Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-2296	445-8292
Papan, Louis J.	D	19	San Mateo, San Francisco	345-E Serramonte Plaza, Daly City 94015	(415) 756-6400	445-8020
Peace, Steve	D	80	Imperial, San Diego	430 Davidson St., #B, Chula Vista 92010	(619) 426-1617	445-7556
Robinson, Richard	D	72	Orange	11400 Stanford Ave., Garden Grove 92640	(714) 530-7200	445-7333
Rogers, Don	R	33	Kern, Tulare	1326 H St., #15, Bakersfield 93301	(805) 395-2927	445-8498
Roos, Michael	D	46	Los Angeles	600 S. New Hampshire Ave., Los Angeles 90005	(213) 386-8042	445-7644
Seastrand, Eric	R	29	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara	1012 Mill St., San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 549-3381	445-7795
Sebastiani, Don	R	8	Napa, Lake, Sonoma, Yolo	561 Broadway, Suite E Sonoma 95476	(707) 996-2746	445-8102
Sher, Byron	D	21	Santa Clara, San Mateo	785-C Castro St., Mt. View 94041	(415) 961-6031	445-7632
Statham, Stan	R	1	Butte, Glenn, Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity	429 Red Cliff Dr., #200, Redding 96002	(916) 223-6300	445-7266
Stirling, Larry	R	77	San Diego	7777 Alvarado Rd., #315, La Mesa 92041	(619) 237-7777	445-6161
Tanner, Sally	D	60	Los Angeles	11100 Valley Blvd., Suite 106, El Monte 91731	(818) 442-9100	445-7783
Tucker, Curtis R.	D	50	Los Angeles	1 Manchester Blvd., Inglewood 90306	(213) 412-6400	445-7533
Vasconcellos, John	D	23	Santa Clara	100 Paseo de San Antonio, #106, San Jose 95113	(408) 288-7515	445-4253
Vicencia, Frank	D	54	Los Angeles	16600 Civic Center Dr., #233 Bellflower 90706	(213) 804-1436	445-7486
Waters, Maxine	D	48	Los Angeles	7900 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 90001	(213) 582-7371	445-2363
Waters, Norman	D	7	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Placer, Tuolumne, Sacramento	250 Main St., Placerville 95667	(916) 626-4954	445-8343
Wright, Cathie	R	37	Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Ventura	250 E. Easy St., #7 Simi Valley 93065	(805) 522-2920	445-7676
Wyman, Phil	R	34	Inyo, Kern, Los Angeles	5405 Stockdale Hwy., #112, Bakersfield 93309	(805) 395-2673	445-3266

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ASSEMBLY STANDING COMMITTEES

Aging and Long-Term Care (6D, 4R)
Moorhead (D) Chair; Sebastiani (R) Vice Chair; Agnos (D); Bradley (R); Connelly (D); Filante (R); Jones (R); Katz (D); Tanner (D); M. Waters (D). Consultant, Phil Chin, 445-7272.

Agriculture (8D, 3R)
N. Waters (D) Chair; Herger (R) Vice Chair; Areias (D); Bronzan (D); Clute (D); Condit (D); Jones (R); McAlister (D); Moorhead (D); Seastrand (R); Vicencia (D). Consultant Philip Dowd, 445-1918.

Constitutional Amendments (3D, 2R)
Wyman (R) Chair; Condit (D); Filante (R); Floyd (D); N. Waters (D). Consultant, vacant, 445-3266.

Consumer Protection (4D, 3R)
Frazee (R) Chair; Bates (D); Killea (D); Klehs (D); Leonard (R); Molina (D); Naylor (R). Consultant, Jay DeFuria.

Economic Development and New Technologies (6D, 4R)
Farr (D) Chair; Naylor (R) Vice Chair; Harris (D); Hauser (D); Hayden (D); Kelley (R); Killea (D); Konnyu (R); Rogers (R); Vasconcellos (D). Consultant, Peter Hansel, 445-0424.

Education (8D, 5R)
Hughes (D) Chair; Bader (R) Vice Chair; Allen (R); Bradley (R); Campbell (D); Clute (D); Farr (D); Hayden (D); Johnston (D); Leonard (R); McClintock (R); O'Connell (D); Vasconcellos (D). Consultant, vacant, 445-9431.

Elections and Reapportionment (6D, 3R)
Klehs (D) Chair; Mountjoy (R) Vice Chair; Chacon (D); Costa (D); Davis (D); Elder (D); LaFollette (R); Lancaster (R); Peace (D). Consultant, vacant, 445-8430.

Finance and Insurance (11D, 6R)
McAlister (D) Chair; Johnson (R) Vice Chair; Bane (D); D. Brown (R); Calderon (D); Chacon (D); Eaves (D); Elder (D); Hughes (D); Lancaster (R); Lewis (R); Moore (D); Papan (D); Peace (D); Seastrand (R); Stirling (R); Wright (R). Consultant, William George, 445-9160.

Governmental Efficiency and Cost Control (4D, 3R)
Areias (D) Chair; Statham (R) Vice Chair; Elder (D); Frazee (R); Isenberg (D); Katz (D); Lancaster (R). Consultant, vacant, 445-7380.

Governmental Organization (10D, 7R)
Alatorre (D) Chair; Hill (R) Vice Chair; Bane (D); Condit (D); Felando (R); Floyd (D); Frizzelle (R); Harris (D); Killea (D); Konnyu (R); Mojonnier (R); Statham (R); Stirling (R); Tanner (D); Tucker (D); Vicencia (D); M. Waters (D). Consultant, Parke Terry, 445-3451.

Health (8D, 5R)
Tucker (D) Chair; Filante (R) Vice Chair; Alatorre (D); Bronzan (D); Davis (D); Ferguson (R); Frizzelle (R); Herger (R); Hill (R); Isenberg (D); Klehs (D); Margolin (D); Molina (D). Consultant, Paul Press, 445-1770.

Housing and Community Development (6D, 4R)
Davis (D) Chair; Ferguson (R) Vice Chair; Bader (R); Chacon (D); Costa (D); Eaves (D); Elder (D); Floyd (D); Grisham (R); Lewis (R). Consultant, Renee Franklin, 445-2320.

Human Services (4D, 3R)
Bates (D) Chair; Konnyu (R) Vice Chair; Agnos (D); Campbell (D); LaFollette (R); Mountjoy (R); Roos (D). Consultant, Catherine Camp, 445-0664.

Intergovernmental Relations (4D, 3R)
Wright (R) Chair; Alatorre (D); Bane (D); Cortese (D); Farr (D); Mojonnier (R); Naylor (R). Consultant, vacant, 445-7676.

Judiciary (6D, 4R)
Harris (D) Chair; Grisham (R) Vice Chair; Connelly (D); Felando (R); Herger (R); Johnston (D); Mojonnier (R); Moorhead (D); Robinson (D); M. Waters (D). Consultant, Ruben Lopez, 445-4560.

Labor and Employment (8D, 5R)
Floyd (D) Chair; Jones (R) Vice Chair; Agnos (D); Alatorre (D); Bates (D); Kelley (R); Klehs (D); Margolin (D); McAlister (D); O'Connell (D); Rogers (R); Seastrand (R); Wyman (R). Consultant, Steve Holloway, 445-2657.

Local Government (6D, 4R)
Cortese (D) Chair; Lancaster (R) Vice Chair; Bradley (R); Bronzan (D); Calderon (D); Eaves (D); Frazee (R); Hauser (D); Mountjoy (R); Robinson (D). Consultant, Casey Sparks, 445-6034.

Natural Resources (8D, 5R)
Sher (D) Chair; Rogers (R) Vice Chair; Bates (D); Costa (D); Farr (D); Frizzelle (R); Grisham (R); Hannigan (D); Hauser (D); O'Connell (D); Roos (D); Sebastiani (R); Wyman (R). Consultant, vacant, 445-9367.

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ASSEMBLY STANDING COMMITTEES

Policy Research (8D, 4R)
Chacon (D) Chair; Konnyu (R) Vice Chair; Areias (D); Davis (D); Hayden (D); McClintock (R); Roos (D); Sebastiani (R); Sher (D); Stirling (R); Vasconcellos (D); Vicencia (D). Consultant, Marc Sanchez, 445-7610.

Public Employees and Retirement (5D, 4R)
Elder (D) Chair; LaFollette (R) Vice Chair; Hughes (D); Lancaster (R); Leonard (R); Moore (D); Mountjoy (R); Papan (D); Tucker (D). Consultant, David Crippen 322-4320.

Public Investments, Finance and Bonded Indebtedness (7D, 5R)
Robinson (D) Chair; Seastrand (R) Vice Chair; Baker (R); Cortese (D); Frazee (R); Hannigan (D); Jones (R); McAlister (D); Papan (D); Roos (D); Stirling (R); M. Waters. Consultant, vacant, 445-7333.

Public Safety (4D, 2R)
Stirling (R) Chair; Calderon (D); Campbell (D); Margolin (D); Moore (D); Rogers (R). Consultant, Ed Kerry, 445-3268.

Revenue and Taxation (7D, 4R)
Hannigan (D) Chair; D. Brown (R) Vice Chair; Cortese (D); Davis (D); Floyd (D); Hayden (D); Klehs (D); Johnson (R); McClintock (R); Molina (D); Seastrand (R). Consultant, Dave Doerr, 322-3730.

Rules (4D, 3R)
Papan (D) Chair; Statham (R) Vice Chair; Bane (D); Filante (R); Isenberg (D); Killea (D); Mojonnier (R). Administrative Officer, Maeley Tom, 445-8173.

Toxic Materials (8D, 4R)
Tanner (D) Chair; Bradley (R) Vice Chair; Clute (D); Connelly (D); Farr (D); Grisham (R); Hayden (D); Johnston (D); Moorhead (D); Mountjoy (R); Sher (D); Wright (R). Consultant, Arnold Peters, 445-0991.

Transportation (8D, 5R)
Katz (D) Chair; Frizzelle (R) Vice Chair; Allen (R); Areias (D); Eaves (D); Ferguson (R); Grisham (R); Harris (D); Killea (D); Robinson (D); Tanner (D); Vicencia (D); Wyman (R). Consultant, Linda Morshed, 445-7278.

Utilities and Commerce (5D, 4R)
Moore (D) Chair; Felando (R) Vice Chair; Hill (R); Hughes (D); Leonard (R); McAlister (D); Molina (D); Sher (D); Wright (R). Consultant, Thurman White, 445-4246.

Veterans Affairs (4D, 3R)
Clute (D) Chair; Kelley (R) Vice Chair; Chacon (D); Hannigan (D); Naylor (R); Statham (R); Tucker (D). Consultant, Al Hinojosa, 445-5416.

Water, Parks and Wildlife (8D, 4R)
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Ways and Means (14D, 9R)
Vasconcellos (D) Chair; Baker (R) Vice Chair; Agnos (D); Bader (R); Bronzan (D); D. Brown (R); Calderon (D); Campbell (D); Condit (D); Connelly (D); Herger (R); Hill (R); Isenberg (D); Johnson (R); Johnston (D); Leonard (R); Lewis (R); Margolin (D); McClintock (R); O'Connell (D); Peace (D); Roos (D); M. Waters (D). Consultant, Samuel Yockey, 445-7082.

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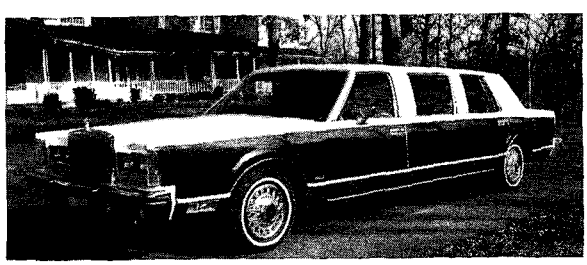

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Assembly committee schedule

Monday	Room	
Aging and Long Term Care*	444	1:30 p.m.
Constitutional Amendments**	—	1:30 p.m.
Economic Development & New Technologies*	126	1:30 p.m.
Housing and Community Development	437	1:30 p.m.
Public Investments	—	1:30 p.m.
Public Safety	—	1:30 p.m.
Rules	3162	3:00 p.m.
Water, Parks and Wildlife	437	4:00 p.m.
Revenue and Taxation	4202	4:00 p.m.
Tuesday		
Health	437	9:00 a.m.
Judiciary	126	9:00 a.m.
Natural Resources	444	9:00 a.m.
Finance and Insurance	4202	9:00 a.m.
Education	4202	1:30 p.m.
Governmental Organization	444	1:30 p.m.
Local Government**	127	1:30 p.m.
Agriculture	437	4:00 p.m.
Human Services	126	4:00 p.m.
Wednesday		
Ways and Means	4202	9:00 a.m.
Public Employees and Retirement*	437	9:00 a.m.
Veterans Affairs**	437	9:00 a.m.
Elections and Reapportionment*	437	1:30 p.m.
Intergovernmental Relations**	437	1:30 p.m.
Transportation	444	1:30 p.m.
Utilities and Commerce*	—	1:30 p.m.
Thursday		
Consumer Protection**	—	1:30 p.m.
Governmental Efficiency & Cost Control*	—	1:30 p.m.
Labor and Employment*	—	1:30 p.m.
Policy Research (meets on call of the chair)		
Toxic Materials	—	1:30 p.m.

Committees meet every week except as noted.
*Meets first and third weeks of the month.
**Meets second and fourth weeks of the month.
(Room numbers listed above are tentative and based on 1984 room assignments for each committee.)

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SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES

Agriculture and Water Resources (7D, 4R)
Ayala (D) Chair; McCorquodale (D) Vice Chair; Bergeson (R); Craven (R); Doolittle (R); Mello (D); Montoya (D); Nielsen (R); Presley (D); Stiern (D); Vuich (D).
Consultant, Stephen Macola, 445-2206.

Appropriations (6D, 3R)
Alquist (D) Chair; Beverly (R) Vice Chair; Ayala (D); Boatwright (D); Campbell (R); Deddeh (D); Dills (D); Foran (D); Maddy (R).
Staff Director, Steve Larson. 445-5202

Banking and Commerce (7D, 2R)
Vuich (D) Chair; Russell (R) Vice Chair; Beverly (R); Boatwright (D); Carpenter (D); Foran (D); Keene (D); Robbins (D).
Consultant, Terry Miller. 445-6306

Budget and Fiscal Review (7D, 4R)
Alquist (D) Chair; Seymour (R) Vice Chair; Garamendi (D); B. Greene (D); Marks (R); Nielsen (R); Petris (D); Presley (D); Robbins (D); Russell (R); Stiern (D).
Staff Director, Steve Larson. 445-5202.

Business and Professions (6D, 3R)
Montoya (D) Chair; Doolittle (R) Vice Chair; Carpenter (D); Craven (R); L. Greene (D); McCorquodale (D); Rosenthal (D); Royce (R); Watson (D).
Consultant, Karen Frick. 445-3435

Constitutional Amendments (3D, 2R)
Ellis (R) Chair; Stiern (D) Vice Chair; Davis (R); McCorquodale (D); Torres (D).
Consultant, Lou Bromley. 445-2802

Education (7D, 4R)
Hart (D) Chair; Bergeson (R) Vice Chair; Carpenter (D); Davis (R); Deddeh (D); Dills (D); Morgan (R); Seymour (R); Stiern (D); Torres (D); Watson (D).
Consultant, William Whiteneck. 445-2522

Elections (4D, 3R)
McCorquodale (D) Chair; Craven (R) Vice Chair; Boatwright (D); Ellis (R); B. Greene (D); Lockyer (D); Richardson (R).
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Consultant, Ann Gressani. 445-9764

Governmental Organization (8D, 3R)
Dills (D) Chair; Campbell (R) Vice Chair; Alquist (D); Beverly (R); Carpenter (D); Foran (D); B. Greene (D); Keene (D); Maddy (R); Robbins (D); Rosenthal (D).
Consultant, Lindsay Miller. 445-1193

Health and Human Services (6D, 3R)
Watson (D) Chair; Maddy (R) Vice Chair; Campbell (R); Carpenter (D); McCorquodale (D); Mello (D); Montoya (D); Rosenthal (D); Royce (R).
Consultant, Jim Lott. 445-5965

Housing and Urban Affairs (4D, 3R)
L. Greene (D) Chair; Marks (R) Vice Chair; Boatwright (D); Ellis (R); Lockyer (D); Petris (D); Royce (R).
Consultant, Krist Lane. 445-8740

Industrial Relations (6D, 3R)
B. Greene (D) Chair; Richardson (R) Vice Chair; L. Green (D); Lockyer (D); Maddy (R); Montoya (D); Petris (D); Rosenthal (D); Royce (R).
Consultant, Casey Young. 445-1237

Insurance, Claims and Corporations (3D, 2R)
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Consultant, Sheldon Davidow. 445-0825

Judiciary (6D, 3R)
Lockyer (D) Chair; Davis (R) Vice Chair; Doolittle (R); Keene (D); Marks (R); Petris (D); Presley (D); Torres (D); Watson (D).
Chief Counsel, vacant. 445-5957

Local Government (4R, 3D)
Marks (R) Chair; Vuich (D) Vice Chair; Ayala (D); Campbell (R); Craven (R); Garamendi (D); Russell (R).
Consultant, Peter Detwiler. 445-9748.

Long-Range Policy Planning
Garamendi (D) Chair
(Members not appointed at press time)
Consultant, Mark Hite

Natural Resources and Wildlife (5D, 4R)
Presley (D) Chair; Nielsen (R) Vice Chair; Garamendi (D); Hart (D); Marks (R); McCorquodale (D); Mello (D); Richardson (R); Seymour (R).
Consultant, Jeffrey Arthur. 445-5441

Public Employment and Retirement (3D, 2R)
Deddeh (D) Chair; Royce (R) Vice Chair; Bergeson (R); Carpenter (D); Torres (D).
Consultant, David Felderstein. 445-8958

Revenue and Taxation (6D, 3R)
Boatwright (D) Chair; Ellis (R) Vice Chair; Ayala (D); Bergeson (R); Deddeh (D); Garamendi (D); Lockyer (D); Petris (D); Seymour (R).
Consultant, Martin Helmke. 445-3808

Rules (3D, 2R)
Roberti (D) Chair; Craven (R) Vice Chair; Doolittle (R); Mello (D); Petris (D).
Executive Officer, Cliff Berg. 445-4311

Toxics and Public Safety Management (4D, 3R)
Torres (D) Chair; Morgan (R) Vice Chair; Hart (D); Lockyer (D); Nielsen (R); Presley (D); Richardson (R).
Consultant, Bob Fredenburg. 324-0894

Transportation (6D, 5R)
Foran (D) Chair; Ellis (R) Vice Chair; Bergeson (R); Beverly (R); Deddeh (D); L. Greene (D); Morgan (R); Robbins (D); Torres (D); Seymour (D); Vuich (D).
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President pro Tempore: David Roberti (D)
Majority Floor Leader: Barry Keene (D)
Minority Floor Leader: Jim Nielsen (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman: Paul Carpenter
Republican Caucus Chairman: John Seymour

Assembly

Speaker: Willie L. Brown Jr. (D)
Speaker pro Tempore: Frank Vicencia (D)
Majority Floor Leader: Mike Roos (D)
Minority Floor Leader: Patrick Nolan (R)
Democratic Caucus Chair: Maxine Waters
Republican Caucus Chairman: Gerald Felando

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- **Joint Resolutions** express legislative opinion on matters pertaining to the federal government, and usually urge passage or defeat of legislation pending before Congress. They are referred to as SJRs or AJRs.
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Senate committee schedule

	Room	
Monday		
Appropriations	4203	1:30 p.m.
Business and Professions**	3191	1:30 p.m.
Public Employment and Retirement*	2040	1:30 p.m.
Tuesday		
Agriculture and Water Resources*	112	9:30 a.m.
Constitutional Amendments**	112	9:30 a.m.
Governmental Organization	3191	9:30 a.m.
Housing and Urban Affairs*	2040	9:30 a.m.
Natural Resources and Wildlife**	4203	9:30 a.m.
Energy and Public Utilities**	112	1:30 p.m.
Judiciary	4203	1:30 p.m.
Transportation*	112	1:30 p.m.
Wednesday		
Education	4203	9:30 a.m.
Elections*	3191	9:30 a.m.
Industrial Relations**	2040	9:30 a.m.
Local Government	112	9:30 a.m.
Banking and Commerce**	3191	1:30 p.m.
Health and Human Services	4203	1:30 p.m.
Insurance, Claims and Corporations*	112	1:30 p.m.
Rules	113	1:30 p.m.
Revenue and Taxation*	3191	1:30 p.m.
Toxics and Public Safety Mgmt.**	112	1:30 p.m.
Thursday		
Budget and Fiscal Review	4203	1:30 p.m.

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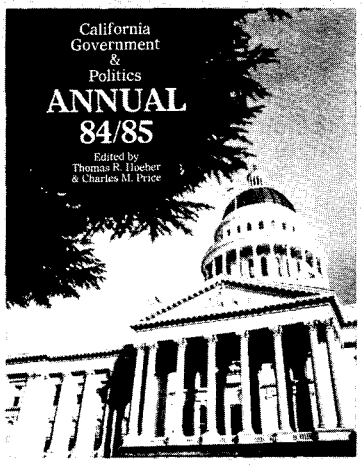

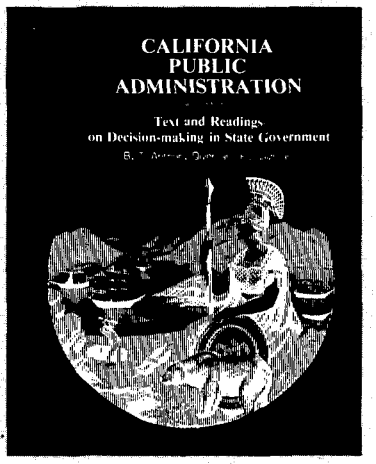

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Action in house of origin

COMMITTEE
Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.

Appropriation bills, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Finance Committee in the Senate and to Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

SECOND READING
Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE
Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and appropriation measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

Disposition in second house

READING
Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE
Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING
If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE
The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

Resolution of two-house differences (if necessary)

CONCURRENCE
The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE
If the conferees fail to present a report, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise, both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee can be formed.

Role of the governor

SIGN OR VETO?
Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor can sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.

Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

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TONY COELHO:

From Merced County farm boy to Washington power broker

By JOHN JOHNSON

He is the ultimate switched-on politician: a tireless worker and a relentless, clawing, biting opponent. And after only six years in office, he has become one of the most prominent and effective power brokers in Congress. He is Tony Coelho, a 42-year-old Democrat from the San Joaquin Valley.

Coelho's clout derives largely from his performance as chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, the group that raises campaign money for Democrats in Congress. Thanks to his unabashed courting of fat-cat special interests that are often shunned by other Democrats (at least publicly), Coelho has raised $17 million during his four years on the job. Most of it, $11 million, came in during the last two years alone. No previous chairman had done better than $1.5 million in two years' time.

As a result, Coelho contributed hugely to Democratic successes in the last two congressional elections. Aided by his DCCC bank account and his take-no-prisoners political instincts, the party won 26 seats in 1982 and held losses to only 14 during the Reagan landslide of 1984. (Six of the seats that Democrats picked up in 1982 were in California and resulted largely from the artful gerrymander done by Phil Burton, the late Democratic congressman from San Francisco.)

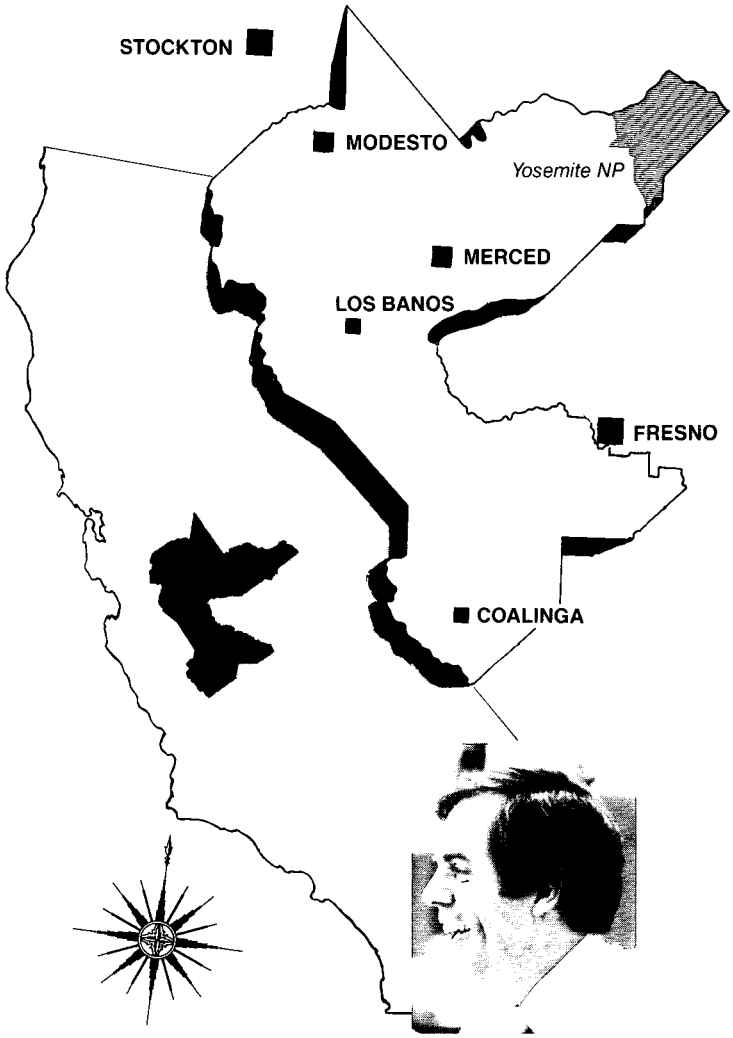
Never underestimating his value, Coelho capitalized on his triumphs by demanding that the DCCC chairmanship be made part of the official party leadership, which it was. As a result, he is now in an even better position to influence party strategy.

Colleagues see Coelho as the "compleat politician," one who operates pragmatically, with no particular ideological bent. Some say he hungers only for power. But Coelho and his friends demur, saying he is still the eager farm boy who grew up milking cows and planning to be a priest.

"People want to know what my agenda is," Coelho says. "I don't know, because I don't have one. I just go full throttle."

Foot to the floor

And that he does, quite literally. On a bitter-cold Washington morning he is on his way to work, his foot pressed into the firewall of his late-model Chrysler Le Baron, dashing in and out of traffic choking the 14th Street Bridge, famous as the site of the Air Florida crash into the ice-bound Potomac three years ago. Veering hard to the right and using on-ramps as a kind of express lane, he snakes ahead of the infuriated, not-so-daring commuters stuck in the jam, all the while leaning over to explain that those who just see his political side miss the mark widely. He finally arrives safely at the Mayflower Hotel for a breakfast meeting with financial heavyweights who want to bring professional baseball back to the nation's capital.



15TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Despite the fact that Coelho never ran a sporting enterprise, he dominates the secret meeting by the sheer wattage of his personality and his brimming self-confidence. A representative of D.C. Mayor Marion Barry, no small political fish, is allowed to sit in but is kept in the background until being ushered out with warnings to keep what he has heard out of the newspapers.

Coelho relishes the spotlight and seems especially pleased in the role of prosecutor at some congressional hearing, hacking away at a witness from the Reagan administration. However, he is also one of those frequently-quoted, unnamed sources that appear so often in Washington news accounts. But whether named or unnamed, Coelho will speak out. "He will say things that

John Johnson is a Washington correspondent for McClatchy Newspapers.

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others are reluctant to say," commented a congressional colleague. "He errs on the side of 'going for it.'"

For instance, shortly after the first Reagan-Mondale debate last year House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill was at his desk cautiously answering reporters' questions about the president's relatively poor performance. Meanwhile, Coelho was holding court for other reporters at the rear of the room. Asked if Reagan appeared "doddering," Coelho replied, "Well, he didn't drool."

The remark, widely circulated through subsequent news accounts, angered Reagan campaign aides. But aide Jim Lake said that it might actually have helped the president by angering voters who read about it.

A farm boy

Coelho is the son of Portuguese Catholic parents and was raised on a dairy farm in Dos Palos, a small farm community about 25 miles southwest of Merced. From elementary school until he left for college, he says, he and a brother worked nine hours a day, milking the farm's 200 cows. He arose at 2:30 a.m. and finished the first milking just in time to get ready for school at 7:30. After the evening milking, he was free to study or see friends, usually falling into bed around midnight. "That's how I learned to get by with so little sleep," he says. In those years he averaged three hours a night; today he gets a maximum of five hours. In Washington, where "workaholic" is a resumé requirement, Coelho is often on the job when even the most driven Type A personalities fall into restless sleep.

However, he indicates, lack of sleep was the cause of serious problems. He and his brother had "all kinds of accidents" from falling asleep at the wheel. "Each of us totalled the family car once," he recalls. But the farm ran on the slimmest of margins and hiring outside help was out of the question. (After Coelho left for college, the farm went bankrupt.)

Also, it was an automobile accident that was to change the course of Coelho's life. He was 16 at the time, and says he wasn't sleepy, just reckless when his car ran off the highway and into a canal. He banged his head, and headaches persisted for some time.

He says the fits and seizures, the bouts of unconsciousness, began about a year later. But because they occurred in private, he kept them to himself. It was not until his senior year at Loyola University in Los Angeles that he went for a diagnosis. A doctor at St. Vincent's Hospital gave him the bad news: epilepsy. The disease could be controlled, but he could never enter the priesthood as he had planned.

According to Coelho, epilepsy in ancient times was often regarded as the sign of genius — Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great were epileptics — but the Catholic Church regarded the affliction as foul, linking it to the devil. As Coelho explains, "If you have epilepsy or are possessed by the devil, you can't be a priest."

Today, Coelho regards the church position philosophically and keeps his own epileptic problem under control with medication. What still may rankle, though, is his parents' reaction.

"I told them they didn't have to worry about me becoming a priest. (His mother had said she feared he would be a 'fooling-around priest.') I said, 'I'm epileptic.' Their immediate reaction was: 'No son of mine is an epileptic.'"

Coelho explains his parents' reaction by noting that the fear of "possession" runs deep in Portuguese society. In response to their rejection, he continues, he rejected them and stopped speaking with them for some time.

Meanwhile, his pleasant nature darkened and he began losing friends. During the summer following his graduation from college, he says, he existed on "McDonald's hamburgers and booze." Eventually, he thought of suicide. "I felt that I was at the end. I lost my family, I felt I lost my church, my relationship with God."

At that point, a unique guardian angel appeared. Through a priest who was aware of Coelho's troubles, Coelho learned that comedian Bob Hope might take a troubled youth into his home. Coelho visited Hope, was accepted and eventually was welcomed into Hope's family. For the next year Coelho lived with the Hopes. There, amidst the glitter and prestige (celebrities at the dinner table, movie premieres, a chauffeured Rolls), Coelho came back from the depths and found a new life.

What to do? According to Coelho, it was Hope who suggested government, telling him that it offered an opportunity to help people on a grand scale. Shortly thereafter, Coelho landed a job with Democratic Congressman B.F. Sisk of Fresno. When Sisk retired in 1978, Coelho — who had been Sisk's administrative aide for 14 years — was elected to the seat.

As his power and prestige have grown in Congress so has the list of his enemies. Probably the most frequently heard charge is that his money raising is the product of excessive cozying with special interests, particularly those in agriculture. Among the examples cited is his recent bill to set up a new San Joaquin Valley water district. The measure died after public disclosure that it would have benefitted five large landholders, one of which was a major oil company.

Coelho says he was treated unfairly in news accounts of the incident. As he tells it, the landholders eventually would have been required to break up their holdings under terms of the federal law that would have brought them the water.

On another issue, Common Cause last month accused Coelho of rounding up Democratic congressional votes for a tax loophole favoring commodity traders in exchange for higher campaign contributions from the traders. Coelho was out of the country and unavailable for comment, although a spokesman for the DCCC denied any link between the legislation and contributions.

Coelho also emerged as a heavy in a battle last year over the granting of "wild-and-scenic" river status to an 83-mile stretch of the Tuolumne River, thereby protecting a white-water section from dams or other forms of development. Coelho sought to block the provision, which was part of a major environmental bill, so that two local water districts might someday put dams on the river. However, he lost the fight after an angry struggle with one of the bill's major supporters, California's freshman senator — Republican Pete Wilson (see "The 1984 Wilderness Bill, *CJ*, December 1984).

During the fight, Coelho called Wilson "naive" and indicated that he would be teaching the junior senator a lesson. Sounding different now, he says of the episode, "You're in the big leagues. You win some and you lose some. If you're not willing to do that you'll never survive in this business." However, he is unwilling to concede that Wilson may have defeated him through sheer political skill. "I still think he was naive," Coelho says.

A challenge to Wilson

Some think that Coelho may be looking ahead to a possible challenge of Wilson when the latter's term is up in 1988. Thus, though he fought Wilson and Wilson's environmentalist allies over the Tuolumne, he did not make it a last-ditch battle by twisting the arms of freshman Democrats who were obligated to him for his gifts of campaign funds. As a result, many environmentalists are not so angry at him that Wilson may automatically claim their support.

Among House Democrats, Coelho has linked himself with a group of younger members who, after the defeat of

Continued on page 79

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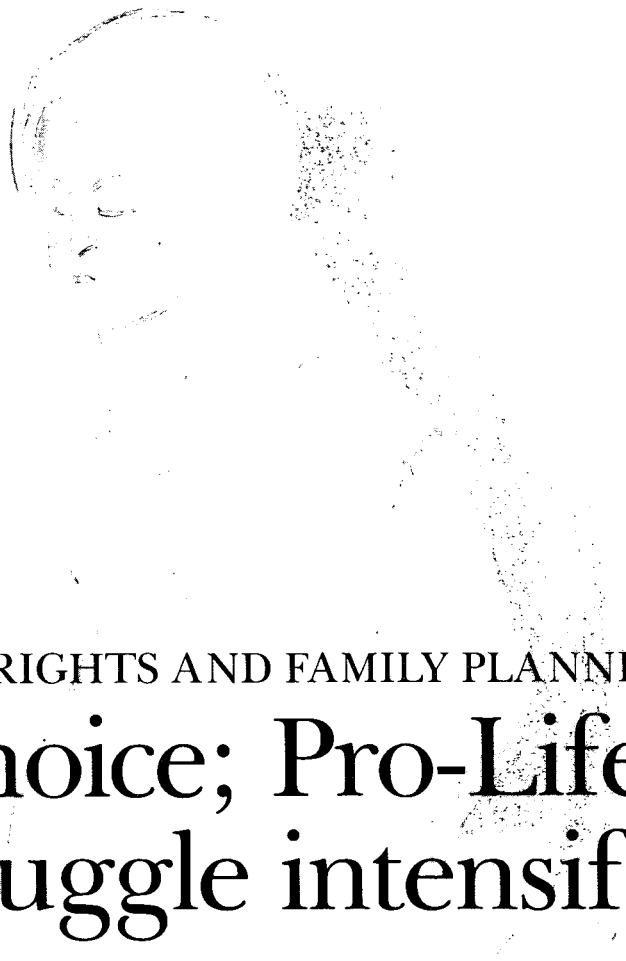

ABORTION RIGHTS AND FAMILY PLANNING

Pro-Choice; Pro-Life — the struggle intensifies

By A.G. BLOCK

Unlike an earthquake, politics usually gives warning when something is about to rattle the house and shake up the teacups. And for months now, events have been signalling another major upheaval over abortion and family planning. Abortion, of course, has been an inflamatory subject in California — and just about everywhere else — for years. However, pro and anti forces have had no major showdowns at the state level since 1978 when a battle over state-funded abortions delayed passage of the budget for five days.

The principal augur of bigger and more acrimonious disputes is the stepped-up activity of anti-abortion forces, known as "pro-life" in the jargon of this struggle. One pro-life group — the American Life Lobby — opened a Sacramento office in early 1984, with a full-time director and staff. Others, like the Women's Lobby, Women Exploited by Abortion and the Pro Life Council, have been bolstering their volunteer corps.

The result has been a barrage of press releases, increased organizing at the local level and heightened pressure on Governor Deukmejian and the Legislature for action on behalf of the pro-life cause. Also, there is increasing talk of a pro-life initiative campaign.

"We're no longer going to pussyfoot around," says Edward Jamison of San Diego, president of the Pro Life Council. "Abortion is, plain and simple, killing children, and we intend to call it that and not let others weasel around it."

John Stoos, western regional director for the American Life Lobby, declares: "We came to California because this state is on the cutting edge of bad legislation, especially with abortion on demand, and on attitudes toward family planning. We came here to cause some real public debate on this issue. We want people to come face-to-face with their own beliefs and values."

But with every action comes a reaction. As a result of the new pro-life activity, the pro-abortion organizations, known as "pro choice," are strengthening their grass-roots efforts and letting their friends in the Legislature know that pro-choice forces are still around.

Although pro-choice groups take the opposition efforts seriously, they contend that the heightened activity may be more a product of desperation than realistic hope of change. "They haven't been able to get their agenda through (the Legislature) in the past," notes David Alois of Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California.

(Although recent bombings by anti-abortion zealots are not likely to figure directly in upcoming political disputes — pro-life spokesmen condemn them out-of-hand — they can do nothing but intensify emotions on both sides and add a measure of notoriety not known before on this issue.)

Following is a rundown on the major areas of dispute:

Medi-Cal funded abortions

Under the U.S. Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision of 1973, all women have a right to an abortion at least through the first trimester of a pregnancy. Although the pro-life side

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would like to overturn that rule, it is battling now for a next-best alternative — a ban on taxpayer-funded abortions.

In California that means Medi-Cal — the state program that finances health care for the poor. Under current Medi-Cal rules, eligible women may receive an abortion virtually on demand. Estimates are that Medi-Cal pays for 100,000 abortions annually, or about 40 percent of all abortions performed in the state.

Back in 1978 it seemed that the pro-life side had won a major victory. By blocking passage of the state budget then, pro-lifers forced a provision into law that banned Medi-Cal abortions unless the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest, threatened the mother's life or would cause the birth of a severely malformed child. However, as pro-choice forces expected at the time, California courts have refused to go along.

In a 1981 ruling *(Committee to Defend Reproductive Rights v. Meyers)* the state Supreme Court held that the state cannot fund the bearing of a child and refuse to fund an abortion. According to the Court, that situation deprives the pregnant woman of her right to privacy and her right to equal protection of the laws under the state constitution.

Undaunted, the Legislature has since continued to place the restriction on Medi-Cal abortions in each year's budget and has additionally appropriated less money for abortions than the Medi-Cal program requires. However, as a majority of lawmakers knew would happen, the courts have regularly struck the provisions down. In the current fiscal year, 1984-85, Medi-Cal money for abortions ran out in December 1984 and state Controller Ken Cory, under a court order, began providing funds from other state sources. Although pro-life forces have been urging Governor Deukmejian to intervene and cut off the funds, the governor has said he will abide by the court decisions.

As a result of all this, the pro-life forces are discussing an initiative campaign for a constitutional amendment to overrule the courts. However, the measure has not yet been drafted, in part because pro-life groups cannot agree among themselves on how far to go. The American Life Lobby, for instance, says that voters will not support a ban on taxpayer-supported abortions for pregnancies that threaten a mother's life. On the other side, groups like the Pro Life Council say no exceptions are necessary. Not surprisingly, pro-choice groups would like to see pro-lifers produce the most rigid initiative possible because they, too, feel that the lack of exceptions would spell its doom.

Stoos, of the American Life Lobby, predicts that there will be an agreement and that pro-life forces will be gathering signatures for an initiative within a few months. If their measure qualifies, it would be on the ballot in June 1986.

Meanwhile, the Legislature has not been forgotten. Stoos says lawmakers will be asked later this year to place the pro-life amendment (whatever its final provisions) on the ballot. Even if the measure fails to pass — which is all but certain being that it would need two-thirds majority approval — Stoos figures that he might get a recorded vote or two on it. Thus, the pro-lifers would have a weapon to use for or against incumbents seeking reelection in 1986. However, the Democratic majority, which controls the legislative machinery, could resist any such moves.

Family planning

Pro-life groups say that the state Office of Family Planning, which contracts with local agencies to provide counseling and contraceptive services for low-income women, is supporting organizations that either pay for abortions or encourage women to have them. OFP officials and pro-choice forces deny the charge. Since 1983, there have been two flare-ups involving Deukmejian administration actions, with pro-choice forces contending that the governor has been undercutting the OFP side.

The first case involves administration efforts to include money for family planning and other health services in block grants to counties. Administration officials argue that this would increase local control and reduce administrative overhead.

Although pro-choice advocates saw the proposal as a conservative goal not necessarily aimed at family planning, they opposed it for fear that pro-life groups could more successfully attack family planning services at the local level than at the state. Partially for this reason, the Legislature refused to go along with Deukmejian's block-grant proposal in 1983 and 1984.

Meanwhile, in 1983 the governor lopped nearly 25 percent from OFP's budget as part of his deficit-reduction program. Although the state treasury is more robust today, the cut has not been restored. However, administration officials have offered to restore some of it if lawmakers will approve the block-grant plan, which has been offered again in this year's budget.

The second flare-up involves the 168 local organizations that provide family planning services under contract to OFP. Late last year two administration officials — David Swoap, secretary of the Health and Welfare Agency; and Peter Rank, director of the Department of Health Services — held up approval for 41 contracts, forcing many of the receiving agencies to curtail services.

These contracts were eventually approved, but not before the two officials, both pro-lifers, were called before an angry Senator Diane Watson of Los Angeles, a pro-choicer, at a stormy hearing last September of her Senate Committee on Health and Human Services. Essentially, Swoap and Rank testified that they had delayed the contracts only to assure that no state money was being used to fund abortions. However, Democrat Watson and others saw the delay as an actual attack on family planning services.

About a month before the hearing, Rank (who recently announced his intention to resign) transferred OFP's long-time chief, Barbara Aved, to another job. Although administration officials said it was a routine rotation, pro-choice critics felt that the removal

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of someone with her experience and knowledge was a deliberate blow at the program.

That feeling was strengthened last November when Rank fired all members of the Family Planning Advisory Board, all of whom were holdovers from the Jerry Brown administration, and replaced them with 11 appointees of his own. The board is a non-statutory group that advises the Health Services Department on family planning issues and has traditionally been composed of professionals from the field. But only two of the new appointees had family planning experience. Swoap, Rank's superior, said the action had been taken to create a more "balanced" board.

The new group includes the Reverend Royal Blue of Redding, who heads the California chapter of Moral Majority. Its newly elected chair is Helen McCullough of the Sacramento suburb of Fair Oaks, leader of the Women's Lobby, a religiously-oriented pro-life organization.

Upset by the change, Senator Watson has introduced a bill (SB130) that would allow the Legislature to appoint six board members. Three would be appointed by the governor and two by the director of Health Services. Additionally, all would be required to have some connection with family planning.

Parental Consent

According to Stoos, pro-life forces will seek legislation to require that minors receive parental consent before they can get an abortion, birth-control advice or be enrolled in a sex-education course. None of these proposals is new; all have been presented to lawmakers and have failed before. However, the pro-life forces believe that their new organizational strength and fervor, when directed at passing the bills, may produce better results this year. For instance, the Women's Lobby has a volunteer corps of 32 women in Sacramento who will be in the Capitol daily to lobby lawmakers.

The major bill (SB7), introduced by Democratic Senator Joseph Montoya of Los Angeles, would require parental consent for a minor's abortion. Stoos says that polls show overwhelming public support for the proposal. The next bill, (SB99), introduced by Republican Senator H.L. Richardson of Arcadia, would require parental consent for birth-control advice. Pro-choice opponents, arguing against both, contend that minors should have the same right to confidentiality as adults and that to require consent might cause a great hardship to many minors who do not get along with their parents.

The third bill, not introduced at this writing, would require parental consent for a minor's sex education. Pro-life groups are not necessarily opposed to sex education but want parental involvement to help assure that sex courses highlight the dangers of venereal disease, unwanted pregnancies and other discouragements to teenage sexual activity. Pro-choicers say that the present system works well enough.

Who will win? Pro-choice advocates say that this year's Legislature is essentially the same as the one that defeated pro-life bills last year. Pro-lifers, on the other hand, say that public-opinion polls show growing public sentiment for their view and that lawmakers can be persuaded to support the pro-life cause. Both sides seem confident.

THE YEAR'S TOP STORIES ON POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

By A.G. BLOCK

The black eye suffered by Governor George Deukmejian last November with the defeat of Proposition 39 was 1984's top story on state government and politics, according to a *California Journal* poll among members of the Capitol press corps.

The governor's proposal would have created a commission of retired judges to draw new legislative and congressional district boundaries in time for the 1986 elections. Although the governor put his personal prestige and nearly $1.5 million behind the ballot measure, it went down 55 to 45 percent. The defeat was thought to have resulted largely from the aggressive and often misleading opposition campaign financed by legislative and congressional Democrats. (In a talk to reporters later, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown gave his controversial description of the anti-39 campaign as "a con job.")

The second-ranked story was last June's passage of Proposition 24 and subsequent consequences. The measure was formally sponsored by tax activist Paul Gann but had been financed by Assembly Republicans to cut the power of Speaker Brown (giving more to themselves) and to reduce the Legislature's own budget. Brown and the Democrats drew fierce criticism after the measure passed — 53 to 47 percent — and they refused to put it into effect. A Superior Court judge, in a later ruling agreed with Democrats that the measure was unconstitutional but appeals are underway.

Two other November initiatives (approval of a statewide lottery and defeat of Howard Jarvis' "Save 13" initiative) were the third- and fifth-ranked stories, respectively. The only non-initiative story to make the top five was the Legislature's defeat of Governor Deukmejian's water plan, which ranked fourth.

The top 10 stories, in order of finish, were:

1) Governor loses reapportionment initiative (157 points*)
2) Passage of the Gann initiative and its aftermath (150)
3) A statewide lottery approved by voters (131)
4) Governor's water plan dies in the Legislature (122)
5) Jarvis loses the "Save 13" initiative campaign (91)
6) Governor gets his $950 million surplus as the 1984-85 state budget is signed on time (88)
7) U.S. Senator Gary Hart's victory over Walter Mondale in California's June presidential primary (78)
8) State Teachers Retirement System loans to an oil-exploration company — TXPACCO — and state Controller Ken Cory's role in that episode (56)
9) Ronald Reagan's triumph over Walter Mondale (55)
10) Governor's veto of the gay rights bill (AB1) last March (45)

**Reporters were asked to rank the stories 1 through 10. Ten points were awarded for first-place votes; nine for second-place votes; eight for third-place votes, and so on.*

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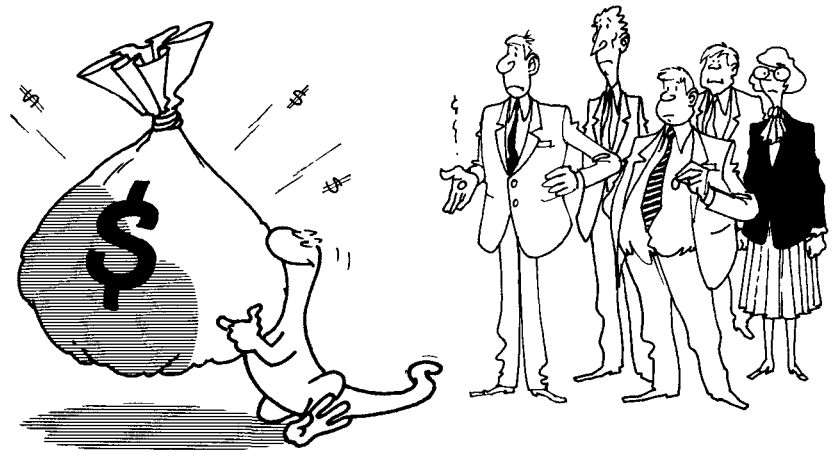
Salamanders over politicians in state's income-tax check-off

By ROB GUNNISON



A strange thing happened to California's major political parties last year when income-tax time rolled around: They were robbed by the Santa Cruz long-toed salamander. Or at least, that's how it seems when you look at those write-in contributions that citizens may make on their state income-tax returns.

The program began in 1981 when the Legislature said, in effect, that taxpayers could contribute directly to a political party by specifying donations of $1, $5, $10 or $25 on their tax returns. The money could be subtracted from a tax refund or, in a true test of generosity, added to the tax bill.

Thus, for tax returns for 1982, Democrats got $234,000 from 51,000 contributions while about 30,000 Republican faithful turned over $146,000. The other three official parties — Peace and Freedom, American Independent and Libertarian — received smaller amounts (see box).

To many persons at the Capitol, this looked like the discovery of another golden goose. Not surprisingly, the Legislature in 1982 added four new categories of permissible contributions: senior citizens, Olympic athletes, abused children and such endangered flora and fauna as the long-toed salmander.

Besides the political parties, funds that were to receive contributions were: Endangered and Rare Fish, Wildlife and Plant Species Conservation Fund; California Seniors' Fund; State Childrens' Trust Fund; and the U.S. Olympic Committee.

Salamanders

Again, the results were good. But not for everyone. Records show that taxpayers would much rather have helped salamanders and blunt-nosed leopard lizards than buy potholders and leaflets for politicians to use in campaigns. With the four new charities competing, political contributions dropped remarkably. Democrats went down 31 percent to $96,000; Republicans dropped 18 percent, to $89,000.

The number of contributors also declined. The Democrats lost 20,000 from the 51,000 contributors in 1982. Republican participation slipped from 30,000 to 23,000. The parties, nonetheless, were happy to get the money. "It was excellent. I was grateful," said Ed Reinecke, the Republican state chairman. He split the take between the Senate and Assembly caucuses.

Mike Gordon, executive director of the Democratic Party, said his party spent most of its money on voter registration and other organizing efforts. "We think the check-off is fabulous," Gordon said.

But is it so fabulous now that the four new funds have taken a large bite out of the money the politicians would have had? Both sides say it would have been impolitic to oppose such so-called motherhood issues as seniors and environmentalists. "We don't have any regrets," said John Rico, the GOP's political director. "They're all good causes," echoed Gordon.

The only opposition came from the administration of Governor George Deukmejian, which fought the idea of allowing the donations to be a deduction on state taxes. (They can be deducted from federal taxes, however.) The administration dropped its opposition when the authors of the bills agreed to omit the deductibility provisions.

Some suggest that the inability to deduct donations could hobble the fund-raising campaigns. John Mackenzie of the California Department of Fish and Game (which gets the rare-and-endangered-species money) says New York State raised more than $7 million in one year for environmental causes through tax returns. However, he says, the contributions were deductible. In California, tax preparers have no reason to recommend that their customers contribute.

Most and least

Mackenzie said that of the $470,000 collected for the conservation fund (the most received for any of the programs), $120,000 will be used for a "full-blown education program" to encourage more contributions. The remaining money will pay for restoration of wildlife habitat and acquisition of new lands. One target is a refuge for those long-toed salamanders, which are suffering an invasion of plants hostile to the little amphibian.

The smallest amount of money raised went to perhaps the most visible of the recipients — seniors. The $230,000 collected from 64,000 donors pays for the California Senior Legislature and programs run by the state

Rob Gunnison is UPI bureau chief in Sacramento.

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	Gross	Net	Aver	Cost	Contributors
Rare & Endangered	$ 511,012	$ 479,382	$4.68	$ 31,630	109,197
Children	406,026	375,113	4.53	30,913	89,719
Seniors	230,040	200,084	3.61	29,956	63,697
USOC	319,308	288,855	4.14	30,453	76,956
Totals	$1,466,386	$1,343,434	$4.32	$122,952	339,569
1983-Political Parties					
AIP	2,207	1,197	3.81	1,010	580
Dem	139,056	95,821	4.53	43,235	30,712
Lib	4,138	2,818	7.31	1,320	566
P&F	4,971	3,025	5.60	1,946	887
Rep	120,022	88,698	5.25	31,324	22,877
Totals	$ 270,394	$ 191,559	$4.86	$ 78,835	55,622
1982-Political Parties					
AIP	6,692	—	4.16	—	1,610
Dem	233,819	—	4.58	—	51,004
Lib	7,268	—	7.58	—	959
P&F	12,065	—	5.21	—	2,316
Rep	146,446	—	4.93	—	29,730
Totals	$ 406,290	*	$4.75	$ 50,560*	85,619

*State Franchise Tax Board did not keep figures on costs per party as it did for '83.

Commission on Aging. The Senior Legislature, which meets each October, develops a legislative program for the state's elderly — a voting bloc four million strong.

Line 90 of the income tax Form 520 belongs to the childrens' fund, whose vague title means the money will be earmarked for abused and neglected children. The Department of Social Welfare, which administers the fund, will spend its additional $375,000 on such programs as one to identify expectant mothers and fathers who may become child abusers and give them counseling.

When Assemblyman Jim Costa, a Fresno Democrat, visited the U.S. Olympic Training Center in Colorado Springs last year, he got the idea for a tax-return contribution to help support the Olympic committee, which sponsors the training center. At the time, four other states were doing the same thing (Idaho, Louisiana, Rhode Island and Colorado). A Costa aide said the USOC kept the tax program quiet intentionally so that it did not compete with the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee. Still, nearly 77,000 taxpayers gave $229,000 to the committee.

Inevitably, the state Franchise Tax Board gets its share for collecting and processing the donations. The bite for collecting the political contributions was $79,000 last year. For the four new funds, the board pocketed $123,000 for 340,000 donations. "It sounds pretty damned expensive to me," said the GOP's Reinecke, "but we're not complaining."

Continued from page 74

Mondale's old-line liberalism, want a bigger role in defining party goals and philosophies. Coelho says the loosely knit group is composed of conservative-leaning Democrats but is not aiming to take down the Democrats' venerable and liberal leader, Speaker O'Neill. Other sources point out, however, that if there is a serious challenge to O'Neill's anointed successor, Congressman Jim Wright of Texas, it will come from this group. (O'Neill has announced that he will retire at the end of his current term.)

Coelho says the group meets occasionally but has no formal philosophy. However, he says, its members agree that the old ways, which confer all congressional power on senior members, must give way. (Apparently, a majority of Democrats agrees, at least sometimes. When Congress convened early last month, House Democrats overrode pleas from Speaker O'Neill and ousted Melvin Price of Illinois as chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Younger Democrats reportedly feared that Price, a 40-year House veteran, would be no match for Reagan administration officials during upcoming struggles over the defense budget. The seniority system was last waived in 1975 when Democrats ejected three chairmen considered too autocratic.)

Within the California delegation, Coelho is seen as a possible successor to the deceased Burton as leader of the group. But so is Los Angeles Congressman Henry Waxman. So far, the two have worked to avoid a rupture in relations, but one observer sees "a power struggle waiting to happen" (see "The Democratic convention," *CJ*, September 1984).

Despite his reputation as a political infighter and his links to the special interests that many critics condemn, Coelho says that he is filling a ministry in the House, just as he would have filled one as a priest. Sam Mabry says he understands what Coelho means. A lobbyist for Hercules, Inc., a chemical company, Mabry is also of Portuguese extraction, also grew up on a farm and also was educated by Jesuits. "The Jesuits teach," he says, "that it doesn't matter if you're a congressman or a garbage collector. You do your work for God by doing it well . . . Being the hard-driving legislator and implacable political opponent thus becomes God's work."

Where will God's work be done next? Coelho enjoys much of the speculation about his future. "People are saying, 'Tony wants to be speaker' or 'Tony wants to be secretary of agriculture.' That's true and it's not true," he teases. He also suggests that he's not wedded to a career in politics. If he were offered the chance to turn some struggling company into a winner, he might take it, he says.

But wherever he goes, it will be, as he says, "full throttle all the way."

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DAN BOATWRIGHT:
THE TEFLON SENATOR FROM CONTRA COSTA COUNTY

By PETER ALESHIRE

Democratic state Senator Daniel Boatwright of Contra Costa County has been in the hurricane's eye for much of his 18-year political career, weathering investigations, lawsuits and even testimony from an ex-girlfriend charging him with corruption. But the 55-year-old conservative not only has survived, he has prospered. A local equivalent of the Teflon president, he was reelected by a landslide last November (67 percent of the vote) in what is often considered a marginal Democratic district.

There have been setbacks, of course. In 1982 he had notions of running for lieutenant governor but was straight-armed out of the race, he says, by then-Assemblyman Leo McCarthy of San Francisco and by former Governor Jerry Brown. According to Boatwright, Brown wanted McCarthy to run anywhere but against him (Brown) for the U.S. Senate nomination. Thus, Boatwright says, after McCarthy declared for lieutenant governor, Brown put out the word to help McCarthy, causing Boatwright's funding sources to dry up. For instance, Boatwright says he had a fund raiser set up in Newport Beach that was cancelled thanks to Brown. (McCarthy was successful and is lieutenant governor today.)

Of Boatwright's political conservatism, there is no doubt. During Jerry Brown's reign, Boatwright complained that the Democratic Party was being led down the road to "disaster" by "bureaucrats, ultra-liberals and cultists." In the Legislature, he has supported strong anti-crime legislation and Governor Deukmejian's budget cuts. He preaches business and development and is a grumpy critic of state regulatory agencies — especially the California Coastal Commission. (On the other hand, he was named legislator-of-the-year by the California Sierra Club back in 1974 for sponsoring legislation to protect endangered species.)

Also, he co-sponsored the federal balanced-budget amendment (the ill-fated Proposition 35 that was removed from the November ballot by the state Supreme Court), pointedly snubbed a 1982 reception honoring Chief Justice Rose Bird and proposed drastic property tax reductions before Howard Jarvis came along with Proposition 13.

Nonetheless, Boatwright has been among the power elite in the Democratically controlled Legislature for most of his 12-year tenure in Sacramento (first as an assemblyman; later, as a senator). He's done this by coming down on the winning side during various leadership struggles. As an assemblyman, he backed McCarthy's speakership bid in 1974. In the Senate, he was an early supporter of David Roberti's successful effort in 1980 to oust former Senator Jim Mills as pro tem. Support for McCarthy got him the chairmanship of Assembly Ways and Means. Roberti rewarded him with chairmanship of the Committee on Elections and Reapportionment — the panel that redistricted the Senate in 1981 and 1982.

A complex, intense man, Boatwright's sleepy eyes mask a sharp, analytical mind. He is blunt-spoken, sounding often like a good-old-boy champion of hard hats and the middle class. But there's little idealism in his politics. "If you're in public life, you're there to help your friends. What are you supposed to do? Screw your friends and help your enemies? That's not politics," he says.

Surprisingly, then, he reads poetry (his favorite is "Psalm of Life" by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow) and writes sentimental verse of his own. A brief example:

> *"Take the time to smell the roses*
> *From part of each hectic day,*
> *And surely He will show us*
> *How to move along the way."*

Boatwright recently emerged from several years of turmoil in his personal life, marked by the break-up of his 26-year marriage, the failure to win statewide office and the final resolution of a long-standing civil suit involving the ex-girlfriend's charges of corruption. Recently married for a second time — to Margaret Shedd Boatwright, legislative liaison for the State Board of Equalization — he may be mellowing a bit, dropping some of the combative abrasiveness that used to alienate potential allies.

Boatwright also looks different these days. Once dubbed the "polyester poet" for the double-knit suits he wore,

Peter Aleshire is a reporter for the Oakland Tribune.

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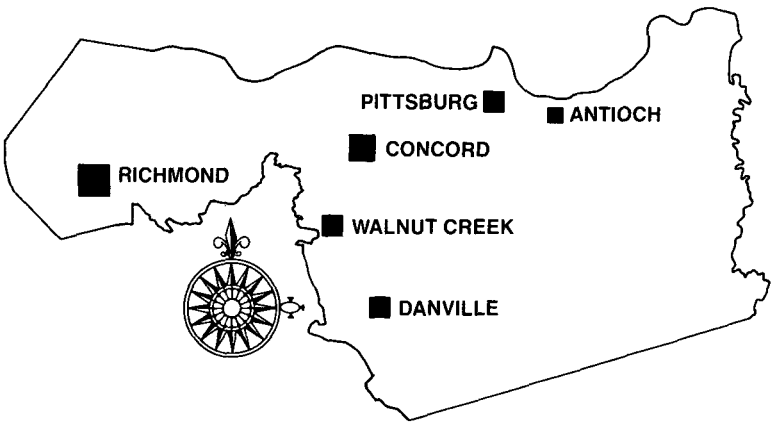
Boatwright now dons silk shirts and Pierre Cardin suits. (An aide says there was no premeditation to this make-over; Boatwright's old suits simply wore out and he replaced them with an up-to-date wardrobe.) He also has shed about 30 pounds and has become a jogger to keep the weight off.

Born to an Arkansas sharecropper, Boatwright and his family (five brothers and sisters) came to California during the Depression. At age 10, young Daniel was hawking ice cream bars at the Mare Island Naval Base near Vallejo. Eventually he enlisted in the U.S. Army and served as a combat infantryman in Korea.

After his discharge in 1952, Boatwright earned a law degree at U.C. Berkeley and worked as a deputy district attorney in Contra Costa County, winning a murder conviction in the notorious "Pink Lady" case in 1962 (a trucker had dismembered a woman he'd met in a Richmond bar). He left the DA's office in 1963 and went to work for a law firm headed by the local Democratic assemblyman then, Jerome Waldie.



SENATE DISTRICT 7

Political life

Boatwright's political life began in 1966 when he was elected to the Concord City Council. In a bit of luck typical of his career, he was elected mayor during his first council meeting after a bitter dispute caused the council to deadlock over the two favorites. He was elected to the Assembly in 1972 and moved to the Senate 10 years later.

Boatwright's most recent brush with scandal resulted from a civil suit brought by a local citizens' group — Community Cause. The suit charged that Boatwright had failed to disclose for several years his interest in Countrywood, a Walnut Creek shopping center. As Boatwright has frequently pointed out, the citizens' group was founded by attorney Steve Williams — a long-time political foe who once ran against Boatwright for the Assembly.

The Fair Political Practices Commission, state attorney general and Federal Bureau of Investigation all looked into the same allegations back in 1977, and all declined to charge Boatwright with wrongdoing. The civil suit, however, was tried last spring, causing plenty of adverse publicity for Boatwright who was seeking reelection.

Most of the publicity concerned Judith Ahrens, a former Sacramento lobbyist who testified that she had had a three-year affair with Boatwright. During that time, she said, Boatwright told her he had received shares in the shopping center in exchange for lobbying county officials for a rezone. In addition, she said the senator used campaign funds to vacation in places like Greece and Hawaii. Boatwright denied all, characterizing the suit as one prompted by a political foe, an embittered business partner and a woman scorned.

When it was over, Judge William Boone — who had heard the case without a jury — agreed, awarding Boatwright not only the decision but $160,000 in attorney's fees as well. In stating his opinion, Boone characterized Ahrens' hostility toward Boatwright as "vibrantly apparent." Boone also ruled that oral agreements making Boatwright a secret business partner in Countrywood were inadmissible and irrelevant, thus quashing testimony from some of Boatwright's original business partners.

While the Countrywood lawsuit was sensational, it was not the only charge of wrongdoing over the years:

— In the 1960s opponents charged that he took a $7000 bribe while on the Concord Council. The case was investigated by several agencies which found no evidence of wrongdoing.

— In 1978 Williams and Orinda Reverend William O. Smith tried to link Boatwright to a prostitution ring allegedly set up by a Martinez city councilman. Boatwright invited reporters to a session in which he took, and passed, a lie detector test concerning the charges.

— In 1977 Boatwright tried to block state purchase of 317 acres in the Suisun Marsh in Solano County. His business partner, campaign contributor and "old friend" Kenneth Hofmann wanted to build a subdivision on the land and held a $6000-an-acre option. Boatwright said the land was only worth $300 an acre and sponsored a last-minute amendment to block the state purchase for about $4500 an acre. The *Oakland Tribune* reported that Boatwright, then head of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, threatened to hold up future Department of Fish and Game budgets if the sale went through. Boatwright denied the allegation. His amendment passed the Assembly but was dropped in conference committee after the incident received widespread publicity.

— In 1981 Boatwright collected $28,000 from Acme Fill and subsequently argued on Acme's behalf before the state Department of Health Services when it considered the company's controversial application to expand its Martinez dump into Delta wetlands.

To a large extent, Boatwright has offset his bad publicity by doing good deeds for Contra Costa County. Over the years, he has championed bills that have brought the county an extensive hiking trail system, a state university campus at Hayward, money to repair Delta levees, a Walnut Creek garden center and a Martinez marina and waterfront park.

Such accomplishments require a fair amount of political savvy, which Boatwright clearly has. For instance, in 1982 he turned hearings on state procurement into political theater by showcasing claims that prison officials were feeding inmates $4.90-per-pound steaks, providing them with plastic surgery and referring inmates to private hospitals.

Prison officials protested that the $4.90 steaks were an aberration in an otherwise economical $170,000 contract, that the plastic surgery was donated by private doctors and that the inmates were only referred to outside hospitals when prison medical beds were full.

But Boatwright carefully timed his revelations to coincide with the floor debate over his bill allocating $230,000 for an off-campus center for CSU-Hayward in Contra Costa. He correctly reasoned it would be hard for the administration to argue that it could afford $4.90-a-pound steaks but not a campus in Contra Costa.

But despite all his efforts and all his good works, Boatwright concedes that his image is not yet the best. "People forget all about the good things you do," he says, "They only remember the scandals."

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ANOTHER REAPPORTIONMENT PROPOSAL

The current battles pale when compared with past wars

By ROBERT MONAGAN

Editor's note: Former Assembly Speaker Robert Monagan has a proposal for reforming California's reapportionment process. First, though, he gives the current struggle some historical perspective. Monagan is currently serving as president of the California Economic Development Corporation, a private group formed to help the state's job creation efforts. He is also a member of the Journal's *board of directors.*

The current battle over reapportionment, which began in 1981 and promises to continue, is not yet a "worst case" episode in the history of this issue. In the early part of this century, reapportionment was the key to a long and angry struggle between San Francisco and Los Angeles, between Northern and Southern California, for political dominance of the state.

At the time of the 1910 federal census, a major population shift was occurring in California: from rural to urban and from north to south. Legislative districts were apportioned then on a population basis, meaning that Northern Californians would lose power under any new redistricting plan. However, the state constitution required redistricting after each census. And, despite some resistance from the north, the Legislature drew new lines in 1911.

But by the time of the 1920 census, the situation had become intolerable for the north. With no provision in the constitution for anyone else to reapportion should the Legislature fail to act, that is what lawmakers did. In biennial sessions, they failed in 1921, in 1923 and again in 1925.

In the 1926 election, up jumped not one but two reapportionment initiatives. One proposed continuing population as the reapportionment criterion but established a commission to do the job if the Legislature failed to act. The other proposed the so-called "federal plan" under which the Assembly would be apportioned by population but the Senate by counties. Thus, the less-populated northern counties would continue to have a political voice. The latter plan also proposed a commission to reapportion if the Legislature did not act.

The 1926 election was a vicious contest with San Francisco and Alameda counties torn between the opposing plans. Knowing that they would lose power to the rural counties around them under the federal plan, San Francisco and Alameda realized that they would also lose power to Southern California under the straight population proposal. In the end, they opted for the federal plan and helped carry it to victory.

With this new format, the Legislature met in 1927 and promptly drew new district boundaries. Was the battle over? Of course not! Opponents qualified a referendum to prevent the new lines from taking effect. The question of whether a legislative reapportionment was subject to referendum was appealed to the state Supreme Court, and eventually the Court ruled it was.

So reapportionment was held in suspension until the 1928 election, when voters reaffirmed their approval of the federal plan by defeating the referendum. But legislators elected that year and in 1930 were still representing districts whose lines had been drawn in 1911. In spite of great population shifts and major political changes since then, no revisions in district lines were effective until the election of 1932.

Proposal

Our current struggle hasn't lasted that long, yet. Before it does, however, I would like to make a suggestion aimed at ending it. By and large, our fights since 1981 have been partisan. In general, Democrats want to retain legislative control over reapportionment; Republicans want control given to some outside agency — either a citizens commission or directly to voters themselves. (The first has been proposed by the party and by Governor Deukmejian; the second by Assemblyman Don Sebastiani.)

My suggestion is that we leave reapportionment in the hands of the Legislature but with a major change. We should have the same number of senators as we have members of Congress, currently 45, and twice that number of Assembly members — 90. The Legislature then would create common Congressional and Senate districts and simply divide them to create Assembly districts.

This change would substantially increase the odds against having lawmakers redraw district boundaries only to protect themselves. With so many persons interested in each district's boundaries, their interests would tend to cancel each other out. As a result, other reapportionment provisions, such as requirements to observe existing city and county boundaries, would come to the fore.

The change also could make legislators a bit more responsive by reducing the population size of their districts. The current number of districts, 80 Assembly and 40 Senate, has not increased since the 1879 state constitution was approved. At that time, an Assembly member represented about 10,000 persons and a senator twice that many. Today an Assembly member represents 325,000, and a Senate district is still twice as large.

In addition, the change would allow voters to identify their representative more easily and would open some new districts for non-incumbents.

Naturally, if the Legislature fails to reapportion itself and the Congressional districts during the session following the federal census, then the California Supreme Court would do the job through the appointment of a special master or similar process, using the same rules as those required of the Legislature.

Of course there will be objections to this proposal, primarily from incumbents, for this plan does increase the possibility for incumbents to knock heads. (Every assembly member is automatically a candidate for the Senate or Congress.) From the public point of view, that can't be all bad.

For the rest, although there would be a cost attached to adding 15 new representatives, it would be less than the money that the Legislature says it already has saved under the Gann initiative. Also, the physical size of the Senate and Assembly chambers could easily accommodate the new members.

So, Paul Gann and other legislative reformers, how about riding your initiative horses down this path?

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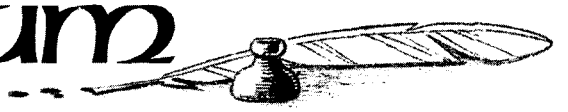

Initiative biz

I am interested in your comments about our operation in putting constitutional amendments on the ballot (*CJ*, December, 1984).

Your article said "it's direct democracy, all right, but with professional cheerleaders (or agitators) on the side." You did not include in your story where the finance comes from to put legislative constitutional amendments on the ballot. Why?

Is this practice "direct democracy" put on the ballots by professional "cheerleaders" (or agitators) on the side?

Is it true or not that candidates running for office generally hire and pay political consultants and public relations firms both before and after they are elected? Is this practice a violation of "direct democracy?"

I did not read anything in your article about the contribution from the AFL-CIO of $20 million to the Mondale-Ferraro Campaign, nor the large number of "cheerleaders" and "agitators" who supported this special interest with massive "in kind" personal unreported activities from their members. Why?

Nor did your article mention the enormous contributions to the anti-36 campaign from large corporations in New York and other eastern cities. Why not? Did these large contributions from special interests from out of California amount to "indirect democracy"?

Am I to assume that the *California Journal* employees and owners work for nothing?

Am I also to assume that the *California Journal*, which I think does furnish good service concerning the political arena to its readers, does not also have "cheerleaders" or "agitators" to promote and expand its services and objectives?

I have employed many PR firms and consultants in the last 50 years and I am convinced that Butcher-Forde has given us the best service we could buy, and for less money than we would have to pay others. To hire top experts is never cheap. Butcher-Forde, like any other successful company pays about 50% of what they earn in taxes.

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Do you know of any other California political entity that has such a record?

HOWARD JARVIS

Cory's reforms

State Controller Ken Cory, in his article in the November (1984) issue proposing reforms for health-care programs, asserted that "the private-sector reform" brought about by the passage of AB3840 in 1982 "has had no great impact so far," (Cory's quote) and that response to Blue Cross of California's Prudent Buyer Plan has been, in his words, "sluggish." It may be helpful to Mr. Cory and to your readers to know that to date, 563 organizations offer the Prudent Buyer Plan to their employees. The Prudent Buyer provider network includes more than 14,000 California physicians and 191 hospitals in 44 counties throughout California. Close to one-half million persons are covered by individual and employee group contracts in the Prudent Buyer Plan. And all this was accomplished in one year.

LEONA BUTLER
Vice President
Public & Provider Affairs
Blue Cross of California

Welfare reform

The welfare-reform legislation (SB15) proposed by Democratic Senators Bill Greene of Los Angeles and John Garamendi of Stockton validates the value of the initiative process and indicates the disdain toward voters shown by some legislators.

Senator Garamendi admitted that this bill was introduced in response to public pressure for welfare reform. Despite the defeat of Proposition 41, the Legislature is fearful that if welfare reform isn't enacted, another ballot initiative could find its way onto a future ballot.

But, an analysis of SB15 raises the question: Is it reform or a bone thrown to placate unhappy voters? The state currently spends $2.4 billion on some 1.7 million people under the AFDC program. Garamendi estimates that SB15 will save about $20 million annually — eight-tenths of one percent of AFDC expenditures, or less than a penny on a dollar.

During the Proposition 41 campaign, voters were urged to vote "no" on the grounds that it was a draconian approach. Many voters believed that well-designed reform would then emerge if 41 was defeated. The Greene-Garamendi proposal appears to be well designed, all right, but it is tokenism at best.

MARIO TILARO
El Cajon

Autopsy law

Your summary of SB1824, the Autopsy Law (*CJ*, November 1984) makes reference to its benefits for "Hasidic Jews," because "autopsy requirements violate the religious beliefs of Hasidic Jews." "Hasidim" are one group within the spectrum of Orthodox Judaism that continues a unique tradition and lifestyle. However, the prohibition against autopsies stems from Talmudic Law, which is binding on all Jews and scrupulously observed by the entire Orthodox community. Agudath Israel of California, which sponsored this bill, aims to be a coalition force for all Orthodox Jews, Hasidic and non-Hasidic.

RABBI CHAIM SCHNUR
Director
Agudath Israel
Los Angeles

(Editor's note: The Journal's *description of SB1824 was taken directly from an analysis by the Assembly Office of Research.)*

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(A review of top stories during the past 30 days)

ARCO SETTLES ANTITRUST SUIT

(December 13, 1984): Atlantic-Richfield Company — defendant with six other oil companies in a $300 million antitrust suit filed by the state and the city of Long Beach — agreed to settle its share of the nine-year litigation for $22.5 million (see "Taking big oil to court," *CJ*, March 1983). The state gets most of the money, with $19.7 million going into the State Tidelands Fund. ARCO representatives said the case was settled to avoid further legal expenses which they claim had reached $20 million.

LEGISLATORS' PAY-BOOST BILL

(December 13th): Democratic Assemblyman Lou Papan of Millbrae, chairman of the Assembly Committee on Rules, introduced a bill (AB120) that, if enacted, would give state lawmakers a 10 percent pay boost (to $37,105 per year), starting in December 1986. The state constitution allows legislative salaries to rise five percent per year. The most recent increase, passed in 1983 and effective last December, was 20 percent and covered raises for the years 1980 through 1984. Papan justified his proposed increase by noting that New York legislators make $43,000.

COURT UPHOLDS ARB RULES

(December 17th): The state Supreme Court, by a 5-1 vote, upheld the right of the state Air Resources Board to set clean air standards without considering the cost to polluters. The decision came in a suit by the Western Oil and Gas Association and nine major oil companies who claimed that meeting the standards may cost them over $44 billion. In his lone dissent, Justice Allen Broussard accused the ARB of ignoring the loss of jobs and industry caused by compliance.

CSEA WINS ONE, LOSES ONE

(December 21st): The 24,000-member Financial and Staff Services Unit of the California State Employees Association voted to end "fair-share" fees that the union charges non-union members, a move that could cost CSEA $1.2 million a year. At the same time, the 34,000-strong Office and Allied Workers Unit retained the fees. The union says non-unionists benefit from collective-bargaining agreements negotiated by the union. According to CSEA, fair-share fees account for more than a third of its budget.

PARTY ENDORSEMENTS IN NON-PARTISAN RACES

(December 27th): The state Supreme Court ruled that while political parties cannot nominate candidates in non-partisan elections, they may endorse or oppose candidates already on the ballot. Under the ruling, Republicans could oppose Chief Justice Rose Bird's reconfirmation, which is on the ballot in 1986. The decision arose from a suit challenging Republican opposition to the confirmation of three Jerry-Brown-appointed justices in 1982.

NEW LAWS TAKE EFFECT

(January 1, 1985): More than 1000 new laws took effect — the lion's share of 1760 bills passed by the Legislature in 1984 and signed by the governor. The rest go into effect at times specified in the legislation. Among the new laws are those that require gas stations to provide customers' cars with air and water, increase penalties for polluting water, require health and disability insurance to cover chiropractic treatments and increase local government's share of vehicle-license fees.

SEBASTIANI'S NEW REMAP INITIATIVE

(January 3rd): Assemblyman Don Sebastiani of Sonoma, the GOP's resident gadfly, revealed that he planned to launch another reapportionment initiative similar to one he sponsored in 1983. Two years ago the Sonoma Valley lawmaker qualified a proposal for the ballot only to see it struck down by the state Supreme Court. Sebastiani's announcement came during a telephone interview with *The Sacramento Bee*. (Later in January, legislative Republicans, including GOP Senate leader Jim Nielsen, formally asked Sebastiani to abandon his effort. Sebastiani refused.)

MOSK MAY RETIRE FROM COURT

(January 6th); Associate Justice Stanley Mosk, a 20-year veteran of the state Supreme Court, hinted in published remarks that he may retire rather than subject himself to a bitter reconfirmation campaign in 1986. The 72-year-old Mosk is one of five justices — including Chief Justice Rose Bird — whose names will be on the ballot. Mosk, a Pat Brown-appointee, is considered among the Court's liberal majority and has been targeted for defeat by conservatives such as Howard Jarvis, Paul Gann, state Senator Ed Davis and Assemblyman Ross Johnson.

THE STATE OF THE STATE

(January 8th): Speaking to a joint session of the Legislature, Governor Deukmejian delivered his third State of the State address, saying that California is about to "climb to the peak of excellence once again." In his 20-minute speech, the governor pointed to the state's fiscal soundness and said education is his first priority. He also said he would create a Department of Waste Management and chastised the state Supreme Court for what he said was its failure to implement the death-penalty law. The speech was well-received by the Legislature's Democratic leadership which promised to seek an era of good will at the Capitol.

GOVERNOR SUBMITS HIS BUDGET

(January 10th): Governor Deukmejian unveiled his spending plan for the 1985-86 fiscal year — a $33.6 billion budget that provided increases for education, public safety and rebuilding the state's public roads, buildings and sewers. The overall budget was 6.3 percent higher than the one submitted a year ago and included a general-fund reserve in excess of $1 billion. The new budget called for full, legally mandated 5.3 percent cost-of-living increases for welfare recipients and a 6.5 percent pay-and-benefit hike to state employees.

TOXIC CLEAN-UP SITES CHOSEN

(January 11th): The Deukmejian administration published a list of 180 toxic-waste sites to be cleaned up over the next few years using more than $100 million in bond funds approved by voters last November (Proposition 27). A complex formula, taking into account the difficulty and expense of cleanup efforts, was devised to compile the list. Thus several notorious sites — Riverside County's Stringfellow, for instance — were omitted because the administration wants to deal with many sites quickly rather than focus on an expensive, long-term cleanup.

A.G. BLOCK

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

The old guard's fade-out

One by one, they began peeling off, leaving President Reagan to contemplate the next four years without his close circle of veteran California confidants. For the first time since his arrival in Washington, the White House is about to operate without the services of Ed Meese, William Clark or Michael Deaver. The old California gang, which played such a prominent role during the first term, has broken up. And Washington, ever alert to palace intrigues and personnel shake-ups, is abuzz with speculation about the deeper meaning and impact of it all.

PERHAPS THE MOST NOTABLE ASPECT of the great California exodus is that there was no coherent pattern or grand purpose behind it. Reagan didn't tire of his close associates or decide it was time to install a new cast to help him push through a major set of new initiatives. In each instance, a top subordinate left to satisfy his own purposes — not those of the boss. Meese, the keeper of the conservative conscience and agenda, is moving on to become attorney general. After losing numerous power struggles to White House Chief of Staff James Baker, he's ready for the calmer confines of the Justice Department, where he can pursue his interests in law-and-order issues. Clark, another conservative stalwart, is returning to his ranch near San Luis Obispo after holding several top jobs — No. Two man at the State Department, national security adviser and secretary of Interior. He also got bruised in White House power fights with Baker, the leading moderate in the inner circle, and with fellow Californian Deaver. Before Baker quit as chief of staff, he made sure Clark would not be his successor. As he packs his bags, Clark must wonder whether he made the right decision to leave the safe tenure of the California Supreme Court to end up bloodied on the banks of the Potomac. Deaver, the wiliest member of the California troika, is quitting his $72,000 post as Reagan's chief public-relations choreographer, for a six-figure salary in a private consultant job.

All three Californians have been at Reagan's side for the better part of the last 18 years — since his earliest days as governor. Meese and Clark served as chief of staff in Sacramento. Deaver was perhaps the most indispensable figure, having built a father-son relationship with the president and close personal ties with Nancy Reagan. His bonds with the Reagans — and their dependence on him — were unique. At critical moments, it was Deaver who made the final move to elbow someone out, bring a new player in or steer the administration in a new direction. His talent for putting Reagan in flattering settings — whether Normandy Beach on the anniversary of D-Day or the Great Wall of China — was legendary. Baker, a politically savvy Texan who accumulated more power than his California colleagues, rose to the top only because Deaver became his ally. It was the Baker-Deaver axis that aced out Meese-Clark. It also was Deaver who helped Baker cement a job-swapping deal with Treasury Secretary Donald Regan. While Deaver could have had Baker's chief-of-staff job for the asking, he waved it aside and instead persuaded Reagan to approve the Baker-Regan switch.

As the dust settles, the president is left with Regan, a former Wall Street brokerage executive, as his top White House assistant and with an overhauled Cabinet. The entire episode has left Washington highly perplexed. After his landslide reelection victory, Reagan asked his top team to stay in place. Instead, some headed for the exits, while others made a play for juicier roles. Baker, for example, felt burned out after four arduous years of trying to hold the White House together. He wanted — and got — a prestigious Cabinet post to add to his resumé for a possible run for elective office or corporate stardom. Regan, aware of Baker's restlessness, grabbed an opportunity to take over as the president's top aide. Critics contend all these maneuvers show Reagan lost control of his administration at the start of his second term and will be paralyzed for the next few months as new players learn the ropes. Regan, an ex-Marine with a short temper, is said to lack the political finesse that enabled Baker to steer controversial deals through Congress. Presidential admirers counter that Reagan, while delegating unprecedented authority to his staff, sets his own basic course and quickly feels at ease with new subordinates.

Outside the White House, conservatives are distressed by Clark's return to California and Meese's switch to Justice. The ideological right, always worried about Reagan's centrist tendencies, is disconsolate. While happy that Baker is gone, it's left without a staunch advocate in the upper reaches of the White House. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, an old California hand, is still at the Pentagon pushing a hard line against the Soviets. But he's no substitute for the direct access Meese and Clark provided when conservatives wanted to make a direct pitch in the Oval Office.

CALIFORNIA INTEREST GROUPS, which gained extra influence thanks to their special relationship with powerful White House friends, may lose some clout in the second Reagan term. It will seem odd for many members of the congressional delegation who served in the Legislature during Reagan's gubernatorial days not to be able to get quick action by calling up an old pal in the White House whom they first befriended in Sacramento. The same applies to California lobbyists who carefully nurtured contacts with Meese, Clark and Deaver. There was always a sympathetic ear for California farmers worried about losing Mexican labor or federal authority to control the supply and price of specialty crops. On California issues ranging from off-shore oil drilling and water development to immigration reform and state taxation of multi-national corporations, it paid to have a California hand at the levers of power.

In the days ahead, Governor Deukmejian and Senator Pete Wilson will have their work cut out to establish new pipelines to the White House. However, as Californians adapt to the new cast of players, the prospects are not entirely gloomy. There's still one very powerful Californian at Reagan's side — Nancy.

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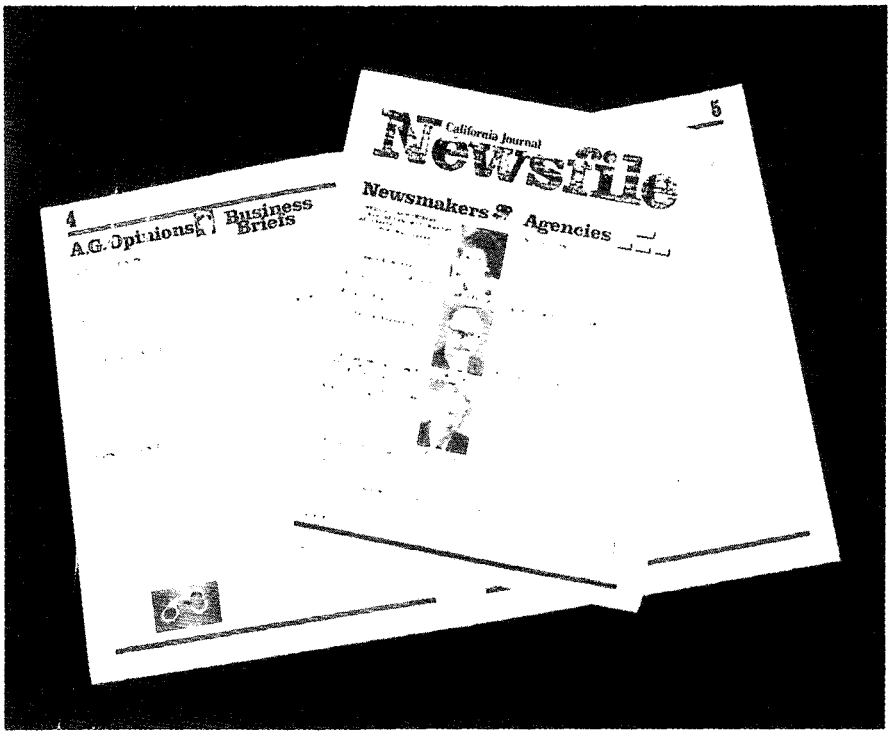

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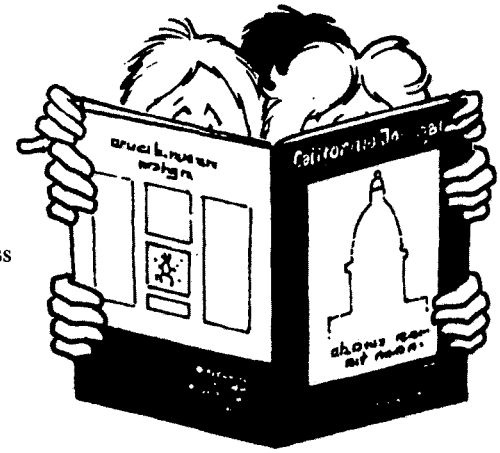

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